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OLD FORT WILLIAM IN BENGAL

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INDIAN RECORDS SERIES

OLD FORT WILLIAM IN BENGAL

A SELECTION OF OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS
DEALING WITH ITS HISTORY

EDITED BY

THE LATE C. R. WILSON, M.A., D.LITT.

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VOL. I.

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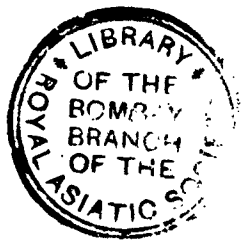

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PUBLISHED FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET
1906

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PREFACE.

HAD Dr. C. R. Wilson lived to complete these volumes, his minute knowledge of the early history of Calcutta would have enabled him to give in the introduction an interesting picture, not only of the growth of Fort William, but also of the official and social life of the settlement which clustered round it. His untimely death has left his intentions in this respect uncertain, and his papers throw no light on the manner in which he would have treated the subject. In these circumstances it has been thought better to let Dr. Wilson speak for himself, in however fragmentary a fashion, than to prefix to his work a literary introduction by another hand. A few months before his death he prepared, at the instance of Lord Curzon, a note on Old Fort William and the Black Hole, which was intended to serve as a brief guide to the model of the fort executed under Dr. Wilson's supervision for the Victoria Memorial Hall and also to the few remains of the old fort which may now be traced *in situ*. In the following pages the greater part of this pamphlet has been reprinted without material alteration or addition.

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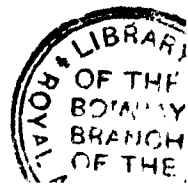

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INTRODUCTION.

THE first Fort William in Bengal has to-day almost completely vanished from the sight and the memory of the citizens of Calcutta. Few persons know what the fort was like or where it stood. Fewer still, I believe, know that a fragment of one of its arcades is still standing within the compound of the General Post Office. In India frequent changes make short memories. Yet there are reasons of special force why the first Fort William in Bengal should not be forgotten. The old fort claims regard and commemoration from our filial piety. Modern Calcutta is its child and heir. It was the nucleus round which the city grew, and was the main guarantee of the permanence, safety, and prosperity of the early settlement. The old fort further claims regard and commemoration from our natural compassion with the suffering of a great human tragedy, for within its walls was situated the Black Hole prison, in which, on the stifling night of June 20, 1756, 123 brave souls were needlessly and cruelly done to death through the stupidity of those in charge of them.

Of late, however, much has been done to discharge our long neglected duty of regard and commemoration to the old fort. Its principal lines and features have been marked out, the site of the prison has been covered with polished black marble and a tablet placed on the wall above, and a white marble replica of the obelisk erected by Governor Holwell over the grave of the sufferers has been re-erected on the original site by His Excellency Lord Curzon. The models, which have been prepared for the Victoria Memorial Hall, of the first Fort William in Bengal and the Church of St. Anne represent efforts of another sort to enable modern Calcutta to realize more clearly the vanished past.

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The first Fort William was not built in a day nor yet in a year, neither was it the work of a single man. The idea of establishing a fortified post somewhere near the mouth of the Hugli, as the best means of protecting the English trade from the oppressive exactions of the Nawab of Bengal and his officials, seems to have been first suggested by William Hedges, who was Agent and Governor of the East India Company's affairs in the Bay of Bengal during the years 1682-1684. The choice of Chutanuttee, or Calcutta, to be the site of the fort must be ascribed to Job Charnock, who actually began hostilities with the Nawab. Under Charnock's direction the English withdrew from Hugli, and after occupying Chutanuttee temporarily in December 1686, and again in November 1687, at last permanently settled there, on the 24th August, 1690. In 1693, after Job Charnock's death, Sir John Goldesborough visited Chutanuttee and found it in great disorder. No permission had been received from the Mogul, or the Nawab, definitely allowing the settlement, and no sort of fort had been begun. Accordingly, Sir John ordered a spot to be enclosed with a mud wall whereon to build a factory, when permission should be granted, and bought a house for the Company, which he intended to enlarge and use for offices. In 1696, when Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Eyre was Agent at Calcutta, the long delayed permission to build a fort was virtually conceded by the Nawab, owing to the dangerous insurrection of Rajah Subah Sing, and a little later a *nishān*[1] was received from Prince Azim-ush-shan for a settlement of the Company's rights at Chutanuttee, on the basis of which they rented the three adjoining towns, expecting that the revenue arising from them would defray the charges of the small garrison required for the protection of the factory. But there were still many difficulties in the way of building the fort. The Company wished to have one sufficient to protect their servants and property, but they feared to attempt fortifications on a large scale lest their appearance might excite jealousy in the native government. For military reasons the Directors recommended that the fort should be in the form of a pentagon; but the Council in Calcutta thought

[1] *Nishān*, literally a 'sign' in the form of a sealed document, or flag, or other emblem from the local authority of a district or province. Hunter, *History of British India*, Vol. II., p. 51, note.

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it safer to adhere to a rectangular shape. There was also the difficulty of finding trustworthy officers to carry out any scheme. In 1699 the Company determined to make a great effort. Bengal was declared a separate presidency, and its fort was to be called Fort William in honour of the King. Sir Charles Eyre, who had returned to Europe, was sent out again with ample instructions, means, and powers. But he returned hastily after seven months' stay in India and left the work of building Fort William to his successor, John Beard. At the beginning of 1704 John Beard was succeeded by the Rotation Government,[1] which added the two western bastions and the greater portion of the river wall. Under the three succeeding Governors, Anthony Weltden, John Russell, and Robert Hedges, the fort was completed, the latest additions being made in 1716 or 1717.

The earliest portion of the fort was the south-east bastion and the adjacent walls. The north-east bastion was built by Governor Beard about 1701. He also in 1702 began the Factory or Government House in the middle of the fort. This 'piece of architecture' was completed by the Rotation Government in 1706. The north-west and south-west bastions were put together hastily at the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. The church of St. Anne, which stood immediately outside the fort before the east curtain wall, was built in the days of the Rotation Government, and consecrated on the Sunday after Ascension Day, June 5, 1709. In 1709, too, the great tank in the green before the fort, the modern Dalhousie Square, was extended and deepened, and the earth taken out was used to fill up the space between the two new bastions, the bank being faced with rubble and ballast. The river wall was begun in February, 1710, forming a wharf before the fort faced with brick and protected by a breast-work and line of guns. The western curtain, begun by Governor Weltden in 1710 or 1711, was completed in 1712. A letter from Bengal, dated December 10, 1712, states that 'the wharf is finished but not the breast-work on it. The strong landing-stage and the crane at the end of it, which will work at all times of the tide, are nearly done. Within the fort all that remains is a little work

[1] The Rotation Government was conducted by a Council of eight, of which the two chairmen presided in alternate weeks.

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on one of the curtains with the construction of a broad walk round the walls and the reconstruction of the long row or central range of lodgings, running from the east to the west curtain, which are now decayed and ready to fall.' Another letter from Bengal in 1716 states that 'the long row of lodgings for the writers is finished and commodious, and that the breast-work will be finished.' Here, practically, the building of the fort ended. No ditch was ever made round it. It was, therefore, of very little real use as a fortification, especially as it was commanded by the church and several houses outside it. The Court of Directors not unjustly criticised Fort William in 1713 as making 'a very pompous show to the waterside by high turrets of lofty buildings,' but having 'no real strength or power of defence.'

The subsequent additions to the fort were made not to strengthen its defences but to increase its warehouse accommodation. The import and export warehouses were situated in the arcades built within the south curtain. In March, 1729, the warehouses were further enlarged by building a verandah before them in the south-east corner of the fort, which undoubtedly obstructed in some degree the way to the south-east bastion. In 1741, there being still a want of storage-room, Governor Braddyll built a very large warehouse against the south end of the fort. It extended from the south-east to the south-west bastion and projected 100 or 120 feet beyond them enclosing a large area. 'By these means the two bastions were rendered of very little use for defending the south end of the fort, for the curtain between them was now become the inner wall of a warehouse and a large passage broke through it into the fort, by way of a door to this new warehouse.' From this time onwards the fort remained practically unchanged in shape till it was taken by Siraj-ud-Daula in 1756.

In order to picture Fort William as it then was, we must remember that in those days the river Hugli flowed much further east than it does now, and where the present Strand Road is was then deep under water. The actual site of the fort was the ground now occupied by the General Post Office, the New Government Offices, the Custom House, and the East Indian Railway House. The warehouses built along the south side of the fort skirted Koila Ghat Street. The north side was in Fairlie

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Place. The east front looked out on Clive Street and Dalhousie Square, which in those days was known as the Lāl Bāgh, or the Park.[1] The fort was in shape an irregular tetragon. Its north side was 340 feet long; its south side 485 feet; its east and west sides each 710 feet. At the four corners were small square bastions, which were connected by curtain walls about four feet thick and eighteen feet high. They were built of thin tile-bricks strongly cemented together. Each of the four bastions mounted ten guns, and the main east gate, which projected, carried five. The bank of the river was armed with heavy cannon mounted in embrasures on a wall of solid masonry, and the space between this river wall and the west curtain was closed at each end by small cross walls with palisaded gates. There were, however, as has been said, no proper ditches or military out-works of any kind to protect the other three sides of the fort. Within, the fort was cut into two sections by a block of low buildings running east and west, and chambers and arcades were built all round against the curtain walls, their roofs serving as ramparts. The two sections were connected by a narrow passage. The northern and smaller section of the fort contained the magazine for arms, the military stores, the shop for medicine, the smith's shop, and the like. It had one small river gate near which stood the flag-staff. In the centre were the armoury and laboratory. The block of buildings, which separated the north section from the south, known as the Long Row, contained the damp, unhealthy lodgings of the young gentlemen in the Company's service. These were the Writers' Buildings of the first half of the eighteenth century. The south section of the fort had two gates, one leading to the river, the steps, and the landing-stage, with the Company's crane 'to work at all times of the tide' at the end; the other opening out upon the great avenue to the eastward, the road which we now variously call Dalhousie Square North, Lal Bazaar, Bow Bazaar, and Baitakhana. The buildings on the south side of the fort were used for storing the Company's goods. The export and import warehouses, built on outside the south curtain in 1741, followed the line of Koila Ghat Street. Of the arcades within the south curtain a

[1] The tank is still called Lāl Dighi, and this has passed into common usage as the vernacular designation of the entire square.

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portion is still standing in the yard of the General Post Office, being used as a shed for the wagons. West of the warehouse was the carpenter's yard. In the middle of the south section of the fort was the Governor's House, which Hamilton describes as 'the best and most regular piece of architecture that I ever saw in *India*.' This building formed three sides of a rectangle. Its west and principal face was 245 feet long. In the centre of this face was the great gate, and from it a colonnade ran down to the water-gate and the landing-stage.[1] Entering the great gate and turning to your left, you ascended the grand staircase which led to the hall and the principal rooms of the factory. The south-east wing contained the apartments of the Governor. A raised cloister ran round the three sides of the court enclosed within the building. On either side of the east gate of the fort there extended a double row of arches parallel to the east curtain wall. The first row of arches served to contain the range of rooms built against the wall, the second row of arches formed a verandah, or piazza, west of the rooms. The Black Hole tragedy occurred in the rooms to the south of the gate, which were formed by dividing off the space between the curtain wall and the first row of arches by a number of cross walls. Each of these arches measured 8 feet 9 inches. The first four arches formed the court of guard and were left open to the piazza before them. The next nine arches formed three rooms, communicating with each other, used for the soldiers' barracks. They were separated from the piazza before them by a small dwarf wall or parapet wall, built between the arches. The fourteenth and fifteenth arches were completely walled in and used as the Black Hole or military prison. This room was the most southern of the series. Its east side was the curtain wall. On its south side was a blank cross wall built between the curtain and the south pier of the fifteenth arch. Its north side was a similar wall having a door opening inwards giving entrance to the prison from the barracks. Its west side was formed by the two bricked-up arches, with a window left in

[1] There was a similar colonnade in Fort St. George, Madras. The columns were of stone, and were carried off by Dupleix to Pondicherry, but were subsequently brought back to Madras. The colonnade is still standing, having been converted into a record room.

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the centre of each. Along the east wall of the barracks and the Black Hole was a wooden platform about six feet broad, raised three or four feet from the ground and open underneath. South of the Black Hole there were no more rooms, the remaining space being taken up by a straight staircase fifty feet long, built against the east curtain wall, leading to the south-east bastion. The verandah, or piazza, which ran all along the west of the rooms, was low and clumsy, but it protected them from the sun and the rain. Its arches were wider than those which formed the west side of the rooms, and measured 11 feet 3 inches.

Such was the old fort as it stood by the river side in the first half of the eighteenth century, and such it remained till the year 1756, when Siraj-ud-Daula, Nawab of Bengal, attacked and took the settlement. The settlers were quite unprepared. At first they vainly tried to defend the whole of the English quarter, but they were soon forced to abandon positions which were easily turned by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, and to withdraw to the fort. There all was confusion. It seemed almost impossible to hold the fort, but no one could decide what should now be done. Governor Drake and the majority of the English residents hurriedly made their escape to the ships in the river, leaving Holwell and some 170 others to their fate. After a brief but gallant struggle the place was taken. On the evening of the 20th June, the Nawab entered the fort in his litter by the north river gate. Holwell had three interviews with him. After much useless discussion the Nawab retired to rest, giving orders that the prisoners should be secured for the night, but that no harm should happen to them. What followed may best be told in Holwell's own words:

'As soon as it was dark, we were all, without distinction, directed by the guard over us to collect ourselves into one body and sit down quietly under the arched verandah, or piazza, to the west of the Black Hole prison, and the barracks to the left of the court of guard, and just over against the windows of the Governor's easterly apartments. Besides the guard over us, another was placed at the foot of the stairs at the south end of this verandah, leading up to the south-east bastion, to prevent any of us escaping that way. On the parade (where you will remember the two twenty-four pounders stood) were also drawn

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up about four or five hundred gunmen with lighted matches. At this time the factory was in flames to the right and left of us, to the right the armoury and laboratory, to the left the carpenter's yard, though at this time we imagined it was the cotta warehouses.[1]

'They ordered us all to rise up and go into the barracks to the left of the court of guard. The barracks have a large wooden platform for the soldiers to sleep on, and are open to the west by arches and a small parapet-wall, corresponding to the arches of the verandah without. In we went most readily, and were pleasing ourselves with the prospect of passing a comfortable night on the platform, little dreaming of the infernal apartments in reserve for us, for we were no sooner all within the barracks than the guards advanced to the inner arches and parapet-wall, and, with their muskets presented, ordered us to go into the room at the southernmost end of the barracks, commonly called the Black Hole prison, whilst others from the court of guard, with clubs and drawn scimitars, pressed upon those of us next to them. This stroke was so sudden, so unexpected, and the throng and pressure so great upon us next the door of the Black Hole prison, that there was no resisting it, but, like one agitated wave impelling another, we were obliged to give way and enter; the rest followed like a torrent, few amongst us, the soldiers excepted, having the least idea of the dimensions of a place we had never seen, for if we had, we should at all events have rushed upon the guard and been, as the lesser evil, by our own choice, cut to pieces.

'Figure to yourself, if possible, the situation of 146 wretches, exhausted by continual fatigue and action, thus crammed together in a cube of about eighteen feet, in a close sultry night in Bengal, shut up to the eastward and southward (the only quarters from whence air could reach us) by dead walls and by a wall and door to the north, open only to the westward by two windows strongly barred with iron, from which we could receive scarce any the least circulation of fresh air.'

At six o'clock the next morning, when the door of the prison was opened, only twenty-three persons were found still alive. The

[1] Here Holwell tells the affecting story of how Leach, the Company's smith, who had made his escape, returned to show Holwell the way to escape, too, and how in the end they both preferred to stay and share the fate of their fellow-prisoners.

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bodies of the dead were promiscuously thrown into the ditch of an unfinished ravelin in front of the east gate, and covered with earth. On this spot Holwell subsequently erected an obelisk.

The remaining history of the fort is soon told. While in the possession of the Nawab some of the inner buildings were demolished and a mosque erected, but after the recovery of Calcutta the place returned to its original uses. In June, 1758, the Company's goods were all removed and the place was entirely given up to the Military for barracks. Towards the end of 1759, orders were given to build slight apartments on 'the Cotta Godowns and the Long Row' for the reception of the officers of Colonel Coote's battalion, and in 1760 the space between the East Gate and the Black Hole prison was made into a temporary church. By the beginning of 1767, all the military were withdrawn from the place, in order that it might be converted into a Custom House, and various buildings were erected to adapt it to its new uses. From this time onwards its fortunes steadily declined. The river gradually receded, and the tide of life left it to flow in other channels. It was part of the older and humbler order of things, and the new and victorious generation disdained its poor sad walls of thin brick. It at length disappeared during the reforming administration of the Marquess of Hastings. The foundation-stone of the new Custom House was laid on Friday, February 19, 1819, with imposing Masonic ceremonies, and all Calcutta congratulated itself upon the vast improvement thus effected in the appearance of the city.

At the beginning of 1821 a further improvement was effected by pulling down the old obelisk erected by Holwell to mark the spot where those who perished in the Black Hole had been buried. *The Calcutta Journal* for April 6, 1821, informs its readers of this last improvement with evident satisfaction, but on April 11, a writer signing himself 'Britannus' is rightly indignant at this 'act of sacrilege' and hopes that the tombs of Job Charnock and Surgeon Hamilton 'will not undergo a similar process of conservancy.'

From this time onward for some eighty years, Calcutta remained without even a sculptured tablet to the memory of those 123 of her citizens who perished faithful to their duty. Well-informed

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writers made contributions from time to time to the local journals and periodicals about the early history of the city, but they failed to attract much popular attention.

In 1882, a determined attempt to fix the site of the Black Hole prison was made by Mr. R. R. Bayne, C.E., of the East Indian Railway Company, who, in the course of erecting the railway offices in Fairlie Place, came across the foundations of the whole of the north end of the fort. He carefully traced out the walls, the slopes of the north-east and north-west bastions, the little river gate, and the central building used as the armoury. He thus settled the topography of the north end of the fort, and from this he attempted to infer the topography of the south end. His views were adopted by Mr. H. E. Busteed in his charming 'Echoes from Old Calcutta,' and have in consequence become familiar to the public. But they were, however, altogether incorrect with regard to the south end of the fort and the site of the Black Hole.

The excavations of Mr. Bayne and the writings of Mr. Busteed aroused considerable interest in the old fort, and during the next few years a number of attempts were made to clear up the doubtful points in topography, particularly the position of the east or main gate of the fort, and the Holwell monument which stood in front of it. No real progress, however, was made till the year 1889, when Mr. T. R. Munro discovered in the King's Library in the British Museum a large map of old Calcutta, dated 1753, on the scale of 100 feet to the inch. This map was drawn by Lieutenant Wells of the Company's Artillery, and was designed to show a project of a new fort by Colonel Scott, the Engineer at the time. But it also shows the old fort in great detail. Mr. Munro, at once recognising the importance of this plan, had a tracing of it prepared which he deposited with the Public Works Department, and at the same time presented a photograph of it to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The writer of this note first began to study the topography of the old fort in 1891. In that year a portion of the Custom House was pulled down, and the ground opened up for laying down the foundations of the new offices of the Calcutta Collectorate. These excavations brought to light the foundations of the east gate,

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and the portions of the fort south and west of it. With the copy of the large plan of the fort made by Wells in 1753, it was easy for me to trace out all the walls. After determining the topography of the east gate and the structures south of it, including the Black Hole, I investigated and fixed the true positions of the Long Row, where the writers had their lodgings, which cut the fort into two, the Factory or Government House in the centre, where the Governor had his apartments or offices, also the curtain walls, especially the south curtain wall with old arcades within it, which are still standing. In 1895-1896, when the old house, which was used to store the Post Office records, was pulled down to make room for the new building, I was able to test the accuracy of my previous conclusions and trace out clearly the lines of the south-west bastion of the fort. The excavations were this time made with great care. None of the walls were cut away, and the lines of the curtains, the slopes of the bastion, the ramp of the staircase, the river wall and gun platforms could be seen in clear unbroken continuity.

My conclusions were placed before Government and the public. It was perceived that at last sufficient evidence was now forthcoming to fix beyond all doubt the sites of the Black Hole and the Holwell monument, and to determine the rest of the topography of the fort. On February 28, 1900, a special meeting, at which Lord Curzon was present, was convened in the yard of the General Post Office by His Excellency's order to consider the whole question. His Excellency personally inspected the site of the old fort, especially that part of it where the Black Hole was situated, and the measures necessary for commemorating the various points of interest were discussed and decided. In consequence of the decisions then reached the massive masonry gate at the east end of the Post Office was removed, so that the site of the prison might be easily visible, and the site itself was covered with polished black marble and enclosed with a railing, an inscription on a black marble tablet being placed on the wall above. From this spot onwards round the outline of the old fort the site of the original walls and bastions, whenever unoccupied by later buildings, has been marked by brass lines sunk in a stone pavement specially laid for the purpose, while the identity of the different features

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of interest has been indicated by inscribed tablets affixed to the adjoining walls. With the consent of the family, the statue of Sir Ashley Eden, which had been erected upon the exact site of the old Holwell monument, was removed to Dalhousie Square, and a replica of the original memorial in white marble was erected on the spot.

This beautiful obelisk is the personal gift of Lord Curzon to the city of Calcutta, and was unveiled by His Excellency on December 19, 1902, on which occasion he made the following speech:

'I daresay that the worthy citizens of Calcutta may have been a good deal puzzled on many occasions during the past four years to see me rummaging about this neighbourhood and that of the adjoining Post Office in the afternoons, poking my nose into all sorts of obscure corners, measuring, marking, and finally ordering the erection of marble memorials and slabs. This big pillar, which I am now about to unveil, and the numerous tablets on the other side of the street, are the final outcome of these labours. But let me explain how it is that they have come about and what they mean.

'When I came out to India in this very month four years ago, one of the companions of my voyage was that delightful book "Echoes from Old Calcutta," by Mr. Busteed, formerly well known as an officer in the Calcutta Mint, and now living in retirement at home. There I read the full account of the tragic circumstances under which Old Fort William, which stood between the site where I am now speaking and the river, was besieged and taken by the forces of Siraj-ud-Daula in 1756, and of the heroism and sufferings of the small band of survivors who were shut up for an awful summer's night in June in the tiny prison known as the Black Hole, with the shocking result that of the 146 who went in only 23 came out alive. I also read that the monument which had been erected shortly after the disaster by Mr. Holwell, one of the survivors, who wrote a detailed account of that night of horror, and who was afterwards Governor of Fort William, in order to commemorate his fellow-sufferers who had perished in the prison, had been taken down, no one quite knows why, in or about the year 1821; and Mr. Busteed went on to lament, as I

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think very rightly, that whereas for sixty years after their death Calcutta had preserved the memory of these unhappy victims, ever since that time, now eighty years ago, there had been no monument, not even a slab or an inscription, to record their names and their untimely fate.

'It was Mr. Busteed's writings accordingly that first called my attention to this spot and that induced me to make a careful personal study of the entire question of the site and surroundings of Old Fort William. The whole thing is now so vivid in my mind's eye that I never pass this way without the Post Office and Custom House and the modern aspect of Writers' Buildings fading out of my sight, while instead of them I see the walls and bastions of the old fort exactly behind the spot where I now stand, with its eastern gate and the unfinished ravelin in front of the gate, and the ditch in front of the ravelin into which the bodies of those who had died in the Black Hole were thrown the next morning, and over which Holwell erected his monument a few years later.

'Nearly twenty years ago Mr. Roskell Bayne, of the East Indian Railway, made a number of diggings and measurements that brought to light the dimensions of the old fort, now almost entirely covered with modern buildings; and I was fortunate enough when I came here to find a worthy successor to him and coadjutor to myself in the p..son of Mr. C. R. Wilson, of the Indian Education Department, who had carried Mr. Bayne's inquiries a good deal further, cleared up some doubtful points, corrected some errors, and fixed with accuracy the exact site of the Black Hole and other features of the fort. All of these sites I set to work to commemorate while the knowledge was still fresh in our minds. Wherever the outer or inner line of the curtain and bastions of Old Fort William had not been built over I had them traced on the ground with brass lines let into stone—you will see some of them on the main steps of the Post Office—and I caused white marble tablets to be inserted in the walls of the adjoining buildings with inscriptions stating what was the part of the old building that originally stood there. I think that there are some dozen of these tablets in all, each of which tells its own tale.

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'I further turned my attention to the site of the Black Hole, which was in the premises of the Post Office, and could not be seen from the street, being shut off by a great brick and plaster gateway. I had this obstruction pulled down, and an open iron gate and railings erected in its place. I had the site of the Black Hole paved with polished black marble, and surrounded with a neat iron railing, and, finally, I placed a black marble tablet with an inscription above it, explaining the memorable and historic nature of the site that lies below. I do not know if cold-weather visitors to Calcutta, or even the residents of the city itself, have yet found out the existence of these memorials. But I venture to think that they are a permanent and valuable addition to the possessions and sights of the capital of British rule in India.

'At the same time I proceeded to look into the question of the almost forgotten monument of Holwell. I found a number of illustrations and descriptions of it in the writings of the period, and though these did not in every case precisely tally with each other, yet they left no doubt whatever as to the general character of the monument, which consisted of a tall pillar or obelisk rising from an octagonal pedestal, on the two main faces of which were inscriptions written by Holwell, with the names of a number of the slain. Holwell's monument was built of brick covered over with plaster, like all the monuments of the period in the old Calcutta cemeteries; and I expect that it must have been crumbling when it was taken down in 1821, for I have seen a print in which it was represented with a great crack running down the side, from the top to the base, as though it had been struck by lightning. I determined to reproduce this memorial with as much fidelity as possible in white marble, to re-erect it on the same site, and to present it as my personal gift to the city of Calcutta in memory of a never-to-be-forgotten episode in her history, and in honour of the brave men whose life-blood had cemented the foundations of the British Empire in India. This pillar accordingly, which I am about to unveil, is the restoration to Calcutta of one of its most famous land-marks of the past, with some slight alterations of proportion, since the exact dimensions of Holwell's original pillar were found to be rather stunted when

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placed in juxtaposition to the tall buildings by which it is now surrounded. There is some reason to think, from the evidence of old maps, that the ditch in which the bodies were interred and the earlier monument above them were situated a few yards to the eastwards of the site of the new monument; and I had excavations made last summer to see whether we could discover either the foundations of Holwell's obelisk, or any traces of the burial below them. The edge of the old ditch was clearly found, but nothing more. However, that we are within a few feet of the spot where those 123 corpses were cast on the morning of the 21st of June, 1756, there can be no shadow of a doubt, and their memory is now preserved, I hope for ever, within a few yards of the spot where they suffered and laid down their lives.

'There are, however, two very material alterations that I have made in the external features of the monument. Holwell's inscriptions written by himself with the memory of that awful experience still fresh in his mind, contained a bitter reference to the personal responsibility for the tragedy of Siraj-ud-Daula which I think is not wholly justified by our fuller knowledge of the facts, gathered from a great variety of sources, and which I have therefore struck out as calculated to keep alive feelings that we would all wish to see die. Further, though Holwell's record contained less than fifty names out of the 123 who had been suffocated in the Black Hole, I have, by means of careful search into the records both here and in England, recovered not only the Christian names of the whole of these persons, but also more than twenty fresh names of those who also died in the prison. So that the new monument records the names of no fewer than sixty of the victims of that terrible night.

'In the course of my studies, in which I have been ably assisted by the labours of Mr. S. C. Hill, of the Record Department, who is engaged in bringing out a separate work on the subject, I have also recovered the names of more than twenty other Europeans who, though they did not actually die in the Black Hole, yet were either killed at an earlier stage of the siege, or, having come out of the Black Hole alive, afterwards succumbed to its effects. These persons seem to me equally to deserve commemoration

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with those who were smothered to death in the prison, and accordingly I have entered their names on the remaining panels of this monument. We, therefore, have inscribed on this memorial the names of some eighty persons who took part in those historic events which established the British dominion in Bengal nearly a century and a half ago. They were the pioneers of a great movement, the authors of a wonderful chapter in the history of mankind; and I am proud that it has fallen to my lot to preserve their simple and humble names from oblivion, and to restore them to the grateful remembrance of their countrymen.

'Gentlemen, in carrying out this scheme I have been pursuing one branch of a policy to which I have deliberately set myself in India, namely, that of preserving, in a breathless and often thoughtless age, the relics and memorials of the past. To me the past is sacred. It is often a chronicle of errors and blunders and crimes, but it also abounds in the records of virtue and heroism and valour. Anyhow, for good or evil, it is finished and written, and has become part of the history of the race, part of that which makes us what we are. Though human life is blown out as easily as the flame of a candle, yet it is something to keep alive the memory of what it has wrought and been, for the sake of those who come after; and I daresay it would solace our own despatch into the unknown, if we could feel sure that we too were likely to be remembered by our successors, and that our name was not going to vanish altogether from the earth when the last breath has fled from our lips.

'I have been strictly impartial in carrying out this policy, for I have been equally keen about preserving the relics of Hindu and Mussulman, of Brahman and Buddhist, of Dravidian and Pathan. European and Indian, Christian and non-Christian are to me absolutely alike in the execution of this solemn duty. I draw no distinction between their claims, and, therefore, I am doing no more here than I have done elsewhere, if I turn to the memories of my own countrymen, and if I set up in the capital of the Indian Empire this tardy tribute to their sacrifice and suffering.

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'Gentlemen, how few of us ever pause to think about the past, and our duty to it, in the rush and scurry of our modern lives. How few of us who tread the streets of Calcutta from day to day ever turn a thought to the Calcutta past. And yet Calcutta is one great graveyard of memories. Shades of departed Governors-General hover about the marble halls and corridors of Government House, where I do my daily work. Forgotten worthies in ancient costumes haunt the precincts of this historic square. Strange figures, in guise of peace or war, pass in and out of the vanished gateways of the vanished fort. If we think only of those whose bones are mingled with the soil underneath our feet, we have but to walk a couple of furlongs from this place to the churchyard where lies the dust of Job Charnock, of Surgeon William Hamilton, and of Admiral Watson, the founder, the extender, and the saviour of the British dominion in Bengal. A short drive of two miles will take us to the most pathetic sight in Calcutta—those dismal and decaying Park Street cemeteries where generations of by-gone Englishmen and English women, who struggled and laboured on this stage of exile for a brief span, lie unnamed, unremembered, and unknown. But if among these fore-runners of our own, if among these ancient and unconscious builders of Empire, there are any who especially deserve commemoration, surely it is the martyr band whose fate I recall and whose names I resuscitate on this site; and if there be a spot that should be dear to an Englishman in India, it is that below our feet, which was stained with the blood and which closed over the remains of the victims of that night of destiny, the 20th of June, 1756. It is with these sentiments in my heart that I have erected this monument, and that I now hand it over to the citizens of Calcutta, to be kept by them in perpetual remembrance of the past.'

The visitor to the actual site on the west side of Dalhousie Square should turn down Koila Ghat Street and enter the Post Office compound through the gate between the old Post Office building and the new red brick Post Office buildings. This will bring him at once to all that now remains of the old fort. The sunken arches before him, where the Post Office wagons are now kept, were once part of an arcade within the south curtain used

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for the import and export warehouses. The Post Office employés have their tiffin-room above, and two arches at the east end have been closed in and made into a kitchen. The room thus formed is a good deal larger than the Black Hole, but it serves to give some idea of what it was like. The line of the south curtain wall has been marked out by brass lines let into a stone pavement running in front[1] of the old arcades. Before 1895 a portion of the old curtain wall was still standing, a double wall of thin bricks. Two tablets with the following inscriptions indicate the nature of the site:

The brass lines in the stone
on the adjacent ground
mark the position and extent
of the south curtain
of Old Fort William.

The two lines of twelve arches
to the west of this tablet
are all that now remains above ground
of Old Fort William, and
originally formed a portion of the arcade
within the south curtain.
The Black Hole prison was a small room
formed by bricking up two arches
of a similar but smaller arcade
within the east curtain
south of the east gate.

Passing on from this, to the right, up the compound of the Post Office, till he reaches the gate in Dalhousie Square, he is walking along what was once the site of the parade ground. In the old days of the fort, instead of the Post Office buildings on his right, he would have had ranges of arches used for warehouses; on his left would have been the open parade, partly paved with brick-on-edge and partly turfed. At the Dalhousie Square Gate is the actual site of the Black Hole. The tablet above has the following inscription:

[1] Originally it was *behind* the old arcades, for what is the front of the arcade was formerly its back, and what we should regard as its back was its front looking out into the central space within the Fort.

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The marble pavement below this spot
was placed here
by
Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India,
in 1901,
to mark the site of the prison in Old Fort William,
known as the Black Hole,
in which 146 British inhabitants of Calcutta
were confined on the night of the 20th June, 1756,
and from which only 23 came out alive.

The pavement marks the exact breadth of the prison, 14 feet 10 inches,
but not its full length, 18 feet,
about one-third of the area at the north end being covered
by the building on which this tablet is fixed.

Another tablet with the following inscription intended to guide visitors from Dalhousie Square to the site, has been placed at the corner of the Post Office, by the gate, on the side facing the square:

Behind the gateway
immediately adjoining this spot
is the site of the Black Hole prison
in Old Fort William.

Passing through the gate into the square, turning to the right, and ascending the steps of the Post Office, the visitor will see brass lines let into the main steps. These mark the angle of the south-east bastion, the thickness of the wall being exactly indicated by the space between the lines. On the adjoining wall is a tablet with the following inscription:

The brass lines
n the adjacent steps and pavement
mark the position and extent
of part of the south-east bastion
of Old Fort William.
The extreme south-east point being
95 feet
from this wall.

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The visitor should now turn round and proceed northwards along the footpath. At the corner of the red-brick building, opposite the marble replica of the Holwell monument, is a tablet with the following inscription:

Sixteen feet behind this wall
was the entrance of the east gate
of Old Fort William, through which
the bodies of those who perished
in the Black Hole were brought and
thrown into the ditch of the ravelin
on the 21st June, 1756.

The visitor will now naturally cross the street to the white marble replica of the Holwell monument which marks the spot where the bodies were buried. The original inscription gave only the few names that Holwell could remember, and gave some of them inaccurately. The present fuller and more accurate lists are due to a careful examination of contemporary records, lists, and registers, which was conducted by Lord Curzon, in co-operation with Mr. S. C. Hill. The inscriptions are as follows:

I.

This monument
Has been erected by
Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India,
In the year 1902,
Upon the site
And in reproduction of the design
Of the original monument
To the memory of the 123 persons
Who perished in the Black Hole prison
Of Old Fort William
On the night of the 20th of June, 1756.
The former memorial was raised by
Their surviving fellow-sufferer
J. Z. Holwell, Governor of Fort William,
On the spot where the bodies of the dead
Had been thrown into the ditch of the ravelin.
It was removed in 1821.

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II.

To the memory of
Edward Eyre, William Baillie,
Revd. Jervas Bellamy, John Jenks,
Roger Reveley, John Carse, John Law,
Thomas Coles, James Valicourt,
John Jebb, Richard Toriano,
Edward Page, Stephen Page,
William Grub, John Street,
Aylmer Harrod, Patrick Johnstone,
George Ballard, Nathan Drake,
William Knapton, Francis Gosling,
Robert Byng, John Dodd,
Stair Dalrymple, David Clayton,
John Buchanan, and Lawrence Witherington,
Who perished in the Black Hole prison.

III.

The names inscribed on the tablet
On the reverse side to this
Are the names of those persons
Who are known to have been killed
Or to have died of their wounds
During the Siege of Calcutta
In June, 1756,
And who either did not survive
To enter the Black Hole prison
Or afterwards succumbed to its effects.

IV.

The names of those who perished
In the Black Hole prison,
Inscribed upon the reverse side
Of this monument,
Are in excess of the list
Recorded by Governor Holwell
Upon the original monument.
The additional names, and
The Christian names of the remainder,
Have been recovered from oblivion
By reference to contemporary documents.

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V.

To the memory of
Peter Smith, Thomas Blagg,
John Francis Pickard, John Pickering,
Michael Collings, Thomas Best,
Ralph Thoresby, Charles Smith,
Robert Wilkinson, Henry Stopford,
William Stopford, Thomas Purnell,
Robert Talbot, William Tidecomb,
Daniel Macpherson, John Johnson, and
Messrs. Whitby, Surman, Bruce,
Montrong, and Janniko, who perished
During the Siege of Calcutta.

VI.

To the memory of
Richard Bishop, Francis Hayes,
Collin Simson, John Bellamy,
William Scott, Henry Hastings,
Charles Wedderburn, William Dumbleton,
Bernard Abraham, William Cartwright,
Jacob Bleau, Henry Hunt,
Michael Osborne, Peter Carey,
Thomas Leach, Francis Stevenson,
James Guy, James Porter,
William Parker, Eleanor Weston, and
Messrs. Cocker, Bendall, Atkinson, Jennings,
Reid, Barnet, Frere, Wilson,
Burton, Lyon, Hillier, Tilley, and Alsop,
Who perished in the Black Hole prison.

Returning from the monument and recrossing the road the visitor should enter the compound of the Custom House. The line of the outhouses seen on the right is roughly the line of the Long Row in which the early writers lived. The outhouses bear a tablet with the following inscription:

To the west of this tablet
extended the range of buildings
called the 'Long Row,'
which contained the lodgings
of the Company's writers,
and divided the old Fort
into two sections.

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Walking on through the compound of the Custom House the visitor soon comes to a tablet on his left marking the position of the west curtain wall. Immediately beyond this wall was the wharf and then the river which has now retreated very much further to the west. The inscription on the tablet is as follows:

The brass lines in the stone
on the adjacent ground
mark the position and extent
of the continuation of the west curtain
of Old Fort William
near where it was met by the Long Row.

If, before reaching the last-noticed tablet, the visitor had turned to the left, or if now returning from this tablet he turns to the right and pushes his way still further amidst the purlieus of the Custom House, he will be rewarded by finding the brass lines which mark the position of the north wall of the factory, the inner building of the fort. The tablet close by has the following inscription:

The brass lines
in the stone on the adjacent ground
mark the position and extent
of a portion of the north wall
of the Factory, the principal building
in the centre of Old Fort William.

Leaving the compound of the Custom House the visitor should proceed to the north-east corner of the East Indian Railway Office which was also the north-east corner of the fort. A brass line in the stone on the ground and a tablet commemorating the fact, the inscription being as follows:

The brass line in the stone
on the adjacent ground
marks
the position and extent
of part of
the north-east bastion
of Old Fort William.

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LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC

Proceeding down Fairlie Place the visitor has on his left what was formerly the line of the north side of the fort, and he soon comes to a tablet with the following inscription marking the position of the north-west bastion:

The brass lines
in the stone on the adjacent ground
mark the position and size of part of
the north-west bastion
of Old Fort William.

Continuing a little further down Fairlie Place, entering the gate on the left and proceeding on till he reaches the quadrangle inside the East Indian Railway Office, the visitor will see on the wall to his right one more tablet with the following inscription:

The brass lines
in the stone on the adjacent ground
mark the position and extent of the
northern portion of the west curtain
of Old Fort William.
This tablet marks the position of the
North River Gate, through which Siraj-ud-Daula entered the Fort on
the evening of the 20th June, 1756.
Behind this tablet to the south of the
gate stood the great flag-staff
of the Fort.

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OLD FORT WILLIAM IN BENGAL.

1. Extracts[1] from the Letters wrote to the Company by their Agents in Bengal from August 1685 to January 1708, taken by me R[obert] O[rme] out of a Book in the India House, in which the Letters from all the presidencies in India are abstracted.

Orme Collection, India VII., pp. 1712-1716.

29 *Dec.*, 1686.—Left Hughley [Hugli] and went to Chuttanuttee [Sūtānuṭī].[2]

9 *Feb.*, 1687.—Broke down the Kings Salt house[3] there; the 11th took Tanna [Thānā] forts,[4] and on the 27th repaired to Ingelee [Hijili].[5] The ships took the Moors ships in Ballasore road, and took the town of Ballasore. Make war on the country from the island, and are invested there by the Moors in June. On the 8th make a treaty with the Nabobs general, from Ingelee they went up the river and are detained three months below Tanna forts until the Nabob at Dacca confirms the articles made at Ingelee.

[1] Only those extracts are given which refer to the establishment of Fort William.

[2] The portion of Calcutta which extends by the riverside north of the mint and the *baṛa bāzār*. The proper spelling of the name seems to be Sūtānuṭī. See my *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, I., 135.

[3] See my *English in Bengal*, I., 99.

[4] The Thānā forts stood on each side of the river below Calcutta. One stood where the house of the Superintendent of the Sibpur Botanical Garden now is; the other, on the opposite side of the river at Maṭṭiya Burj. See my *English in Bengal*, I., 54. In the same work, opposite page 127, I have given a conjectural map of *Calcutta before the English*, which shows the positions of all these places.

[5] Formerly an island on the west bank of the river Hugli, just below Khejirī and the modern Cowcolly lighthouse. See my *English in Bengal*, I., 103 to 110, where there are conjectural plans of the island of Hijili and of Balasor, and an account of the fighting in those places.

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30 *Dec.*, 1687.—The articles are not confirmed, but the English are permitted to go to Chuttanuttee, Hughley factory ruinous, the hole where their ships used to ride almost filled up. They petition to settle at Chuttanúttee.[1]

27 *June*, 1688.—Still at Suttanuttee. The new Nabob Bahauder Chawn [Bahādur Khān] arrived.[2]

21 *Aug.*, 1688.—Are endeavouring to bring the trade down from Hughley to Sootanuttee.

20 *April*, 1689.—Eyre and Braddyll sent to the Nabob at Dacca to treat in June, 1688. The Nabob ask[s] the English assistance to make war on the King of Arracan, the English proffer it on condition he will give them leave to build a fort. In the interim one Heath, who seems to have commanded the ships and forces insist[s] that the Agency shall quit Bengal and on the 8th November they left Calcutta, and went to Ballasore to take in the effects and factors there.[3]

17 *Mar.*, 1690.—They receive overtures from the Nabob of Bengal[4] to go and resettle in the Country.

Feb., 1691.—They leave Madras July 13th, 1690 and arrive in Ballasore road the 28th D°.

18 *Jan.*, 1692.—The Agency receive the Moguls Phirmaund[5] to trade Custom free, paying only a Pischash[6] of 3,000 rupees per Annum. They expect the Nabob's leave to build. Have 30 soldiers.[7]

[1] See my *English in Bengal*, I., 110, 111.

[2] Mīr Malik Ḥusain, entitled first Bahādur Khān, then Khān Jahān, Bahādur, Ẓafar Jang, Kokaltāsh, son of Mīr Abū-l Ma'ālī, Khwāfī. According to the *Ma'āṣiru-l-umarā*, I., 810, at the end of 'Ālamgīr's twenty-ninth year—i.e., in the first half of A.D. 1686—he was sent against the Jāṭs of Sansanī in the Akbarābād *ṣūbah*. Having successfully discharged his mission, he was appointed to the government of Bengal in 1099, H., i.e., October 28, 1687, to October 16, 1688. His rule in Bengal lasted for a very short time—from the departure of Shāyista Khān till the arrival of Ibrāhīm Khān. See my *English in Bengal*, I., 118. In the thirty-third year of 'Ālamgīr, 1689 to 1690, he was transferred to Allahabad, and in the thirty-fourth year to the Punjab. In the thirty-seventh year he was recalled to Court, where he remained till his death, which occurred in the imperial camp at Barampurī-Islāmābād in the Deccan on Muharram 19, 1109, H., i.e., Wednesday, July 28, 1697, at the age of 84 lunar years. See *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, year 1109.

[3] Here follows an account of Heath's actions at Balasor, his attempt on Chittagong, and his retreat to Madras. See my *English in Bengal*, I., 117-122.

[4] Ibrāhīm Khān.

[5] *Farmān*, a grant signed by the Emperor.

[6] *Pshekash*, first-fruits, tribute.

[7] See my *English in Bengal*, I., 123-125.

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11 *Feb.*, 1693.—Job Chanock died the 10th of January this year N.B., August 2nd, 1693 a Commissary went to Bengal.[1]

14 *Dec.*, 1694.—Can't get the Nabob's and Duan's [*dīwān's*][2] grant for a settlement at Chuttanuttee.

20 *Jan.*, 1696.—from Chuttanuttee. Have built chambers for the servants at Chuttanuttee, the Nabob conniving, but will not give open approbation.

22 *Aug.*, 1696.—The Nabob don't press their return to Hughley, but on the contrary orders them to defend themselves against a rebellious Rajah,[3] and under this pretence they intend to build a wall round their factory to mount guns on. This Rajah, I suppose the Rajah of Burdwan[4] wars with the Nabob, and takes Hughley. The Dutch retake it. The English assist the Nabob's troops to beat the Rajah's near Chuttanuttee for which the Nabob thanks. The Dutch, French and English take this opportunity to fortify themselves at the 3 presidencies.[5]

30 *Jan.*, 1697.—The Rajah threatens the English who take this opportunity to carry on their fortifications which they foolishly think is capable of resisting the Mogul's army.

1 *Dec.*, 1697.—The Nabob encourages them to fortify which they do. The rebel defeated.

20 *Jan.*, 1698.—Have withdrawn Patna, Rajahmaul [Rājmahal] and Balasore factories, intending to carry on all their trade at Calcutta.

29 *Jan.*, 1699.—Chuttanuttee very much increased within these 5 years. Have obtained a settlement in Govindpore [Govindpur], Chuttanuttee and Calcutta by the means of the Mogul's son[6] who gave them a grant of these three towns on the same terms as the Jemmindars [*zamīndārs*][7] held them who had always refused to

[1] Sir John Goldsborough. See my *English in Bengal*, I., 140 to 144.

[2] The *dīwān* was the chief financial minister of a province charged with the collection of the revenue.

[3] Orme refers to S'obhāsiṃha; *rājah* of Chetūyā, a Hindu landowner in the district of Burdwan.

[4] No. S'obhāsiṃha killed Kṛishṇarāma, the *rājah* of Burdwan, in battle.

[5] For the story of the rebellion see below, extracts 21 to 26.

[6] Prince 'Aẓīmu-sh-shān, a grandson of Aurangzīb. The story of these negotiations is given below in extracts 34, 36, 38, 39, and 41.

[7] Landholders.

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sell them. . . . The English fort stronger than the Dutch, and their trade and name greater.

21 *Feb.*, 1699.—The country about Radnagur[1] not yet settled. They desire leave to build a new factory, I suppose in the fortification already built.

11 *Aug.*, 1701.—Fort William strong enough to resist any attempts of the natives; the inhabitants increase; complaints of which are made to the Prince who orders from Hughley to reside on the place, but being bribed revokes these orders.

8 *Jan.*, 1702.—Are going on with a new house in the middle of the fort.

2. The Court of Directors Sanction the Building of a Factory at Sūtānuṭī.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Fort St. George. London, February 15, 1689. *Paragraph* 33. *Letter Book No.* 9.

We have no manner of doubt of the continuance of our peace in all the Mogols Dominions, and therefore we think the sooner Agent Charnock resettles the ffactoryes of Cassumbuzar [Qāsimbāzār] and Maulda, from whence we used to have our best Returns, the better it will be for the Company, and since he likes Chuttanuttee, so well we are content he should build a ffactory there but with as much frugality as may be, and we hope he will so contrive that busyness, as the Dutys of that Town being to be the Companies by the Bengall Articles, They may in some few years reimburse us the Charge of our new ffactory, and possibly he may find it necessary to continue a small ffactory at Hughly likewise, but that we must leave to his and Councills discretion at present, and to our Generalls[2] hereafter, if it pleases God in his due time to arrive him safely in Bengall.

3. The Same.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, February 15, 1689.

We hope shortly to receive your direct Advices to ourselves. In the mean time we have in ours by the *Chandos* to our President

[1] I cannot find Rādhānagar in any map, but from extract 73 it appears that it was opposite Calcutta, on the west bank of the river by Haurah.

[2] i.e., to the discretion of our Commissary-General, Sir John Goldsborough, who came to Bengal in 1693. See extracts 12 and 13.

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and Councill at Fort St. George, approved of your building a ffactory at Chuttanuttee if you find it necessary for our Service, And we hope you have before this resetled our ffactory at Cassumbuzar, because we shall exceedingly want such goods as we usually had from thince.

4. The Superiority of the Position at Calcutta.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Fort St. George. London, September 11th, 1689. Letter Book No. 9.

We know not well what a kind of Fort that is at Ballasore taken by Captain Heath[1] which the Moors built upon or near the place where our Banksall[2] was formerly as we suppose and if you are in possession of it when this arrives you must consider of what use it may be to us and whether it be worth the charge of keeping or not we conceive it may command all Ships and Boats going into the River of Ballasore but they are small and few It can be no succour to our great ships rideing in Ballasore Road because the shoal water will hinder them from comeing nearer that Fort than within five or six Leagues and our Ships in Ballasore road do generally ride in a hard and dangerous Roadstead and many of our men come to Sickness and death by their constant labour of rowing so far in such a rough sea which we would willingly prevent all that in us lyes and therefore if the Moors will allow us to fortify ourselves at Chutanuttee where our Ships may go up and ride within the command of our Guns it would be much better for us though it should cost us a bribe of thirty or fourty thousand Rupees to the great men to be paid when we are possest of the Mogulls Phirmaund for that and for the confirmation of the twelve Articles made with Mr. Charnock,[3] but the confirmation of those Articles we insist upon in right and will not purchase them.

If you resettle in Bengall you must order our Pilots and govern yourselves in the settlement and collection of our Revenue after

[1] Captain Heath took Balasor on November 29th, 1688. See my *English in Bengal*, I., 120, 121.

[2] Port office.

[3] The twelve articles were agreed upon between Charnock and the representative of the Nawāb in January, 1687. See my *English in Bengal*, I., 99 and 110.

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the same manner as the Dutch do in those townes which they possess in that Countrey.

5. Early Days in Calcutta.

Extracts from Chutanutte Diary and Consultations, August 24 and 28, and November 6, 1690. Factory Records, Calcutta, No. 1.

The arrival.

On board the *Maddapollam.*

August 24th, 1690.—This day at Sankraul [Sānkrāl][1] order'd Capt. Brooke to come up with his Vessell to Chutanutte where We arrived about noon but found the place in a deplorable condition nothing being left for our present accommodation, and the Rains falling day & night, We are forced to betake ourselves to boats, which considering the Season of the yeare is very unhealthy Mellick burcoordar [Mālik Barkhūrdār] and the Country People at our leaueing this place burning downe and carrying away what they could.[2]

On our arrivall here the Governor of Tanna sent his Servant with a Complyment.

A list of buildings absolutely necessary.

Chutanutte Thursday 28th *August* 1690.

At a Consultation Present The Right Worshipful Agent Charnock Mr. Francis Ellis Mr. Jeremiah Peachie.

Resolved that a Letter be sent to Mr. Stanley &ca to come from Hugly and bring with them what Englishmen are there, that the Warr with the French may be proclaimed, as also that commissions be given to all Commanders of Shipps in order to the Prosecution of the same.

In Consideration that all the former buildings here are destroyed, it is RESOLVED that such places be built as necessity requires and as cheap as possible vizt.

[1] Sānkrāl, on the west bank below Sibpur, where there is still a village of the name.

[2] In November, 1688. See my *English in Bengal*, I., 119.

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1st. A Warehouse.
2. A dineing room.
3. The Secretarys Office to be repair'd.
4. A Roome to sort Cloth in.
5. A Cookroom with its conveniencies.
6. An Appartment for the Companys Servants.
7. The Agents & Mr..Peachie's houses to be repair'd which were part standing & a house to be built for Mr. Ellis the former being totally demolish'd.
8. The Guard house.

} These to be done with Mudd Walls and thatcht till we can gett ground whereon to build a Factory.

RESOLVED that 2000 maunds[1] of Wheat, and 200 maunds horse Gram be bought at Maulda that being the cheapest place, and here to be provided 6000 maunds rice, 200 maunds butter, and 200 maunds Oyle, to be sent to ffort St. George.

The farmān *not received.*

November 6.—In consideration that the Phirmaund is not yett arrived and We know not what may happen if it should be contrary to our Expectations, do think it convenient, and do accordingly order necessary provisions for 4 months according to a Calculation drawn out to said purpose that Wee may be in a posture to defend and the easier to withdraw ourselves, and if we have no occasion of so much provisions, the superplus shall be disposed of, which We judge may be done to advantage.

6. BENGAL NOT TO BE SETTLED TILL THE WAR IS OVER.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Fort St. George. London, February 18, 1691. *Paragraph* 20. *Letter Book No.* 9.

We think you will want no ffactors or Writers, but may well spare those we writt you in a foregoing Paragraph to [be] sent for Bombay, because we do not intend to settle Bengall as you imagine untill this warr with ffrance be over.

[1] A maund or *man* is a varying weight, the *bāzār man* being 82 pounds avoirdupois and the factory *man* ⅜ of a hundredweight.

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7. The Business in Bengal to be concentrated at one Factory.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, February 18, 1691.

It is Our Positive Resolution As We have wrote Our President and Council of Madrass never to run in such a Wastfull way of Expence as you were formerly in Bengall But reduce our Whole Concerns into one Principall ffactory at such Place as you shall think most proper for Our service Besides which One Person or two We think you must maintain at Ballasore But pray limit them to a certain Expence that We may know the utmost of Our Charge And advise Us what that is att Both Places and what is the Annual Charge of a Sloop or two if You can't be without them but more than two We will never have.

8. The Unsettled Condition of the Sūtānuṭī Settlement.

Extract from General Letter from Fort St. George to the Court, May 25, 1691. *O.C., No.* 5,770.

What we lately sent down with the Agent to the Bay is partly returnd us and the rest like to fall[1] . . . us they could dispose of little, nor have they safe goedowns to Secure them from Dammage, And the truth is, they live in a wild unsetled Condition at Chuttanuttee, neither fortifyed houses nor Goedowns, only Tents, Hutts and boats with the strange charge of near 100: Soldiers, gaurd ship &c[a] for little or noe buisness, and a doubtfull foundation wholy depending on the good Nabobs[2] stay and favour whose remove would be very unhappy for them, the Kings promist Phyrmaund, being not yet sent them from Surrat, That

[1] Some words have here been torn out.

[2] The good Nabob is Ibrāhīm Khān, entitled 'Alī Mardān Khān, son of 'Alī Mardān Khān, Amīru-l-umarā, Zīk. He first appears in the English records as the bookish Nabob of Patna through whose supineness the saltpetre trade was almost ruined in 1672. See *Diary of William Hedges*, edited by Yule, II., 45. The *Ma'āṣiru-l-umarā*, I., 298, says that in the twenty-first year of 'Alamgīr, 1677-78, he was made Governor of Kashmīr and subsequently of Bengal. In the forty-first year, 1697-98, he was replaced by the Prince. He died at the end of Ṣafar or early in Rabī' I., 1122 H., i.e., at the end of April, 1710, while Governor of Kashmīr, aged eighty.

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Governour still detaining it and resolved to doe so, till a full rendition of all Seizures in the late Warr be made good to the Merchants, which proveing more troublesome and Chargeable then expected, Tis doubted the dispute will last long, God grant it ends well, since the Goverment (notwithstanding our Peace) are still as imperious and arbitrary as ever, and the Agent &c[a] little better than Prisners at large, but of this Your Honours will have a better and fuller Account from themselves, only this, we doubt twill have a bad influence upon Your Bengall affaires, since without the Phyrmaund, they can neither Settle, build or trade upon any Sollid foundation or Security, So that it had been better to have followd the Presidents opinion in deferring the Settlement till the arrivall of the Kings Phyrmaund, when the Agent &c[a] might have carry'd it with them & appear'd with resolution and Authority, and their abscence in all probabillity would have betterd their tearms and priviledges the Nabob being very importunate for their returne, Solliciting the King much in our favour till after their arrivall and the *Princes's* Cargoe might have been well provided by those few Persons we sent down upon the *Kempthorne* as by the Agent and a Settlement, nay probably better, since they bought Goods near 20 per cent. cheaper before the Agents Arrivall to the Bay then afterwards and certainly at ¼ part of the charge, but the Presidents advice was overvoted, the Bengall Gentlemen being in hast to returne to their sweet plentyes, which Sandy Maddrass could not please them in.

9. Four Victualing Houses allowed.

Extract from Chutanute Diary and Consultations, Factory Records, Calcutta, July 13, 1691.

Order'd that there be but four Victualling houses allowed in Chutanutte according to the Consultation of the 14th October 1690, to be responcible people, and to be furnished with such houses and accomodations as shall be convenient for the entertainment of such Persons as require the same, to pay to the Company 50 rupees each the first yeare, the Lycence to be yearly renewed.

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10. CHARNOCK CONTINUES AT SŪTĀNŪṬĪ CONTRARY TO ALL REASON.

Extract from General Letter from Fort St. George to the Court, November 20, 1691. O.C., No. 5,777.

To Bengall We sent with Agent Charnock and since to the amount of Pagodas[1] 210416 : 01 : 02 : most ready money besides the Vallue of near 400,000 rupees in Debts and remaynes left behind them, Cheifly made by Agent Charnock at Cassumbuzar &c[a]., of which we have yet noe Account, nor any returnes from them, more then the poor dispatch of the *Princess* with an ordinary three quarter ladeing, which we might have well compleated from hence, but contrary to our order was sent directly home, beleived cheifly to disappoint us or our advices, Wee wish the *Orange* faires better, tho we have possitively orderd them and the Captain to returne her hither as early as possibly, takeing in the Vizagapatam Goods by the way, But from particular advices we have reason to doubt his complyance Since he has Little regaurd to our orders,[2] declareing himself beyond them, and appears so in Severall Instances, We last Season sending down two of Your Honours countrey Vessells, the *Dyamond* and *Madapollam* and to be dispatch't early hither with their remaining Goods for Europe, and to fill up with grain and Provisions and the other with Stores and provisions for the West Coast, which was accordingly promist and We and they depended upon, but totally neglected, We doubt to your Honours great prejudice and disappointment of Your Affaires and people at Bencolen, those things being much wanted there, and so scarce here we could not sufficiently supply them, and instead of sending us what we wrote for, they lately dispatch'd the *Dyamond* hither with a lading cheifly of Saltpeter, which wee have little occasion for, whereas had they sent us Provisions, they would have turn'd to great advance here, all sorts being extreamly deer,

[1] Down to 1818 the accounts at Madras were kept in *pagodas*, *fanams*, and *kās*. A *pagoda* was worth Rs. 3½.

[2] The Bay was at this time subordinate to Fort St. George. It had been an independent government under Hedges, 1682 to 1684, but when he was displaced it again became a subordinate agency, till 1700, when Sir Charles Eyre was appointed first President and Governor of Fort William in Bengal. See extract 44.

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made so by the Voraginous great Armyes near us,[1] then we often wrott them to returne the soldiers to recruit Bombay, which is in so great Necessity for them by the late mortallity there, that we heare, they have not above 40 Europe Soldiers left, but notwithstanding these pressing arguments he still keeps them there to gaurd their Persons, for they have little else to Secure (but money) where they are a great charge, and can be of little service being in a defenceless place at Chuttanuttee, where he continues contrary to all reason or consent of the Goverment, who will neither permitt building a Factory or Merchants to Settle or trade with them, but offer a more convenient place for it, two miles below Hughley, but that he will not hear of, Supposed to proceed from his fears of being Seiz'd by some of the Goverment his irreconcileable enemyes, and for his better Security, we hear he has bought a great Portuguez ffrigott for a gaurd Ship, soly without our order consent or knowledge,[2] which undoubtedly will prove a great Charge to your Honours and what he means by this and his other expenciveness, we understand not, except tis to renew our troubles and disoblige the worthy good Nabob,[3] who has been very honourable and generously punctuall in the performance of his Promises to the President in countenanceing and encourageing Your Honours resettlement and Affaires, and not only so but by dilligent Mr. Eyres,[4] his Sollicitations with him, has procured us the Kings Husbull Huccum [*ḥasbu-l-ḥukm*][5] or Verball order for our being Custome free here for the small consideration of 3000 rupees per annum to the King in leiw thereof,[6] which is duely obeyd, our Dusticks [*dastaks*][7] Passing more currently then formerly, and all things with as great freedome and Security as can reasonably be desired and is the only time dureing this Excellent Nabobs Goverment to lay a lasting good foundation for our Settlement

[1] During the war between 'Ālamgīr and the Marāṭhās, the whole of the Deccan was scoured and ravaged with hostile armies.

[2] The Bay being subordinate to Fort St. George as above.

[3] Ibrāhīm, 'Alī Mardān Khān. See footnote to extract 10.

[4] Charles Eyre, Agent 1694-98, President and Governor of Fort William in Bengal 1700. See extracts 14 and 64; also my *English in Bengal*, I., 144-150, 157, 158, II., i., 333-335; and the *Diary of William Hedges*, edited by Yule, II., 134-136.

[5] i.e., 'according to command,' an order signed by the Vizier.

[6] See Stewart's *Bengal*, Appendix, No. IX.

[7] i.e., passports or permits.

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and trade in Bengall, were the Agent but reasonably considerate and complacent, but on the contrary he continues his old differences with particular men, to the endangering all for the future and impeeding or delaying our present buisness decrying and inveighing against private tradeing, tho not only freely allowd but also encourag'd by Your Honours orders and indeed is so farr from being any prejudice to Your Honours Investments there, that theres few or none of those sorts of goods propper for Europe fitt or bought for private trade, and is inconsiderable to what the Dutch french and Portuguez yearly transact, which he takes no notice of, but exclaimes against English Colours, whose trade in reallity is a reputation and advantage to the Nation and the Cheifest Support of this Place, by improveing the revenues and encreasing the customes, and is the only honest way Your Honours Servants have to advance their fortunes, which the denyall of, would put them upon tradeing in other names to the loss of Your Customes or worser courses.

11. THE ENGLISH AT CALCUTTA HAVE GOT THEIR *FARMĀN*.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, April 10, 1693. *Paragraphs* 2 *and* 5. *Letter Book No.* 9.

2. Wee observe you have a Phirmaund and Husbull Hoocum to your full content and Wee highly commend your frugality in discharging unnecessary Peons hopeing you will persue that old Maxim which did never faile Vizt. That a Penny saved is two Pence gott. . . .

5. Wee have soe much and soe long experience of our Agent Mr. Charnock's fidelity and prudence and have so long felt the exorbitant Charge of Decca and Maulda ffactorys that we leave it to our Agent to reduce those two ffactories and to settle at Seerpore[1] or where he thinkes best for us when these Ships arrive which we presume he will well consider of especially if any Interlopers should be in Bengall at that time.

[1] Probably Sherpur Murchā, a place of some historical interest in the district of Bagra, Bengal, latitude 24° 40′ 20″ N., longitude 89° 28′ 20″ E. See Hunter's *Gazetteer of India*.

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12. Sir John Goldsborough[1] and the Papists.

Extract from Letter by Sir John Goldsborough at Sūtānuti, about October, 1693. O.C., No. 5,900.

Your Honours will see what a height the papist priests were come to . . . vppon which I turned their priests from hence, and their Mass house was to be pulled Downe in Course to make way for the factorie when it shall be thought Convenient to build itt.

13. Sir John Goldsborough and the Buildings at Calcutta.

Letter from Sir John Goldsborough to Mr. Eyres,[2] October 30, 1693. O.C., No. 5,886. No. 40 of a Collection of Letters by Sir John Goldsborough.

Your Letter of the 17th Instant with my seale I Receiv'd and am very sorry you sent the seale away not knowing whether you have one left to seale my Letters to the Nabob and duan about the Interloper or whether you can cut one sooner than this can be Returned, and wish it had been cut in Copper or brass.

Your advice about building at Calcutta I take in good part as being designed for the Right Honourable Companys good, but thinck you have had but bad advice concerning my intentions, but least you may be asked about it I thinck it not amiss to lett you know my intentions therin.

When I came hither I found the Agent and Councill had been Remiss in not marking out a place wheron to build a factorie on, if we should hereafter be Libertized to setle here, and by that omission of theirs noe body knew where or how to build but every one built straglinly where and how they pleased even on the most properest place for a factorie, and have dug holes and tancks that will cost the Company money to fill up agen, and the longer this Run The worss would be the Evill, Therfore I thought fitt to order the inclosing a peece of ground with a Mud wall wheron to build a factorie when we have a parwanna[3] for it, which I meen to

[1] Sir John Goldsborough, Commissary-General and Chief Governor of the Company's settlements, arrived at Calcutta on August 12, 1693, and died there at the end of October. See my *English in Bengal*, I., 141-144. Sir John Goldsborough displaced Ellis, and appointed Charles Eyre agent in his stead.

[2] Charles Eyre, who subsequently became Agent on January 25, 1694. See my *English in Bengal*, I., 144; also extract 44.

[3] *Parwānā*, an order, a grant signed by the Nawāb.

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goe in hand to inclose in a day or two, this is all I know of this Matter further upon Mr. Walshes house bought for the Company I intend to build above Staires upon the 2 Tarresses, 4 Rooms or Chambers, that I may bring in the Accomptant and Secretarie and the bookes and papers in their Charge within the brick house which now Ly scattering abroad in thachd houses Lyable to the hazzard of fire every day,[1] therefore Rest sattisfied that I shall not run soe hastily about such a work as your intelligencer thincks.

14. Stones wanted to mend the River Bank.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, January 3, 1693-4. Paragraphs 23 and 26.

23. We observe what reason you give us why you did not presently recall the ffactorys we ordered; after your present necessity is over fail not to doo it. . .

26. Stones to mend the Banks of your River we shall contrive to send you as soon as we can, though we cannot apprehend how they should be better or cheaper than burnt Bricks, which you may make and burn there, where wood costs nothing under a Rupee per Thousand.

15. The Advantages expected from Farming the Adjacent Towns.

Extract from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Chuttanuttee, December 14, 1694. O.C., No. 5,949.

By the Death of Agent Charnock your Honours are disappointed in your Intentions and Expectation of having a Court

[1] Calcutta and the adjacent townships were part of an imperial *jāgīr*. See extract 151. But it appears that the right of collecting the rents was long vested in the family of Lakshmīkānta Mazumdār. See *Census of India*, 1901, vol. vii., part i.; *A Short History of Calcutta*, by A. K. Ray, pp. 10, 18, and 20. It is said that the nucleus of the Calcutta factory was the *zamindāri kachahri*, or office, of the Mazumdārs, by the great tank, which they gave up to the English. This may have been so, but the statement rests on tradition. There is nothing to support it in this letter of Sir John Goldsborough, or elsewhere in the records, as far as I know. As for the story that the agent of the Mazumdārs, a Portuguese named Antony, was whipped out of the enclosure by Job Charnock, this, I should think, was contradicted by the fact that the enclosure was made by Sir John Goldsborough after Job Charnock's death. If anyone whipped Portuguese Antony out of the place, it was Sir John Goldsborough. Compare extract 12, above. Extract 19 below shows that Job Charnock's house was a considerable distance from the factory.

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of Judicature Erected in Bengall and for that reason we presume the Honourable President and Councill of ffort S^t. George took the Commission out of your Honours Packett before it came to us, our Endeavours have been fruitless hitherto in procuring the Nabobs and Duans consents for a firm Settlement in this place and wee have no hopes of a grant for it soe long as this Duan continues, Wee have endeavoured to farm 2 or 3 Towns Adjacent to us (Chutanutte Included) the rent whereof will amount to about 2,000 or 2,500 Rupees yearly which is a means to Increase your Honours Revenues in your Towne of Chutanutte for allthough wee doe make some small Matter out of your Buzar[1] [*bāzār*] by Grain fines &c^a yett we cannot lay any Impositions on the people, though never soe reasonable, till such time as wee can pretend a Right to the place, which this farming of the Towns Adjacent will soon cause, and procure us the liberty of Collecting Such Duties of the Inhabitants as is Consistant with our own Methods and Rules of Government and this is the only means wee can think of till wee can procure a Grant for our firm Settlement.[2] The Duties Collected out of the Towne last month and fines paid amounted to about 160 rupees whereas formerly it was soe small that it did not amount to 30 rupees one month with another. . . .

Wee have begun no brick buildings in this place except a Godowne or Warehouse, which was of necessity to be built for prizing and sorting your Honours Goods this yeare, and shall build no more then just what is of necessity for your Honours business untill wee have the Nabobs and Duans Perwanna for a firm Settlement here.

16. CHARNOCK'S HOUSE BURNT.

Extract from Chuttanutte Diary and Consultations. December 19, 1694. *Factory Records, Calcutta, No.* 2.

About 11 the Night the house where Agent Charnock liv'd was burnt down thro' the peons making a large Fire under a thatch't

[1] Market.

[2] The rights to collect rents from the ryots in the three townships, to deal as they pleased with the waste lands, to impose petty taxes, duties, and fines, constituted in the view of the English merchants the *zamīndārī* of Calcutta, as may be seen by comparing this extract with extract 23. These *zamīndārī* rights, which the English sought to acquire, and did subsequently acquire, were at this time held by the family of a certain Lakshmīkānta Mazumdār. See extract 39.

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wall adjoining, but Mr. Ellis[1] who liv'd there, having great assistance sav'd the best part of his Goods.

17. The River Bank to be mended with Brick.

Extract from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Chuttanuttee, January 15, 1694-5. *O.C., No.* 5,959.

Wee shall make shift with bricks to mend the banks of the river since your Honours apprehend it to be the Cheaper way then bringing out stons, Bricks being procureable for ½ rupee[2] per Thousand.

18. Sūtānuṭī to be the Chief Station in Bengal.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, March 6, 1695. *Paragraphs* 9 *and* 10. *Letter Book No.* 9.

9. If our Servants can be kept to any moderate Degree of thrift, and to deal truly and faithfully with the Company, We conceive it will always be necessary for us to maintain our ffactorys of Cassumbuzar and Maulda, for that we resolve not to diminish but enlarge our Trade in the Bay and in all other parts of India.

10. Chuttanutty being a place where our Ships ride well, and where we are in a great measure already settled, We have no thoughts of removing our Chief and Councill from that place, having reason to believe it may be as healthfull as any other part of Bengall, of which you have yet had no full experiment, because in all places near the Troppicks, there has been of late Years all the world over an unusuall Sickness and Mortality, as well in the West as in the East Indies, Besides when We have been some number of years more at the place you are now at, The Moors will have in some measure forgott the profit they had by us when we were at Hughly, and may be the easilyer induced to allow us a firm Settlement (it may be a fortifyed Settlement) at that place, especially if (as you surmise) the Dutch should fall out with them at Bengall.

[1] Ellis succeeded Charnock as agent, but was set aside by Goldsborough in favour of Charles Eyre.

[2] The reading here is doubtful. Eight annas a thousand would seem incredibly cheap; but compare extract 16, where the Court estimate bricks to cost 'under a rupee per thousand.'

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19. Buildings at Sūtānuṭī in the Early Part of 1695.

Extracts from Chutanutte Diary and Consultations, March 11, 18 *and* 29, *April* 8 *and* 22, *June* 5 *and* 24, 1695. *Factory Records, Calcutta, No.* 2.

Lodgings Built in the Factory for Factors and Writers.

March 11, 1694-95.—There ariseing many inconveniences from the Right Honourable Companys ffactors and writers having lodgings out of the Right Honourable Companys Factory or compound which their Agent lives in; and those thatch't lodgings being yearly blown down with the Southerly storms which causes often repairs; besides they are not at the call or under the Eye of the Agent, as youth ought to be.

Tis therefore ORDER'D that half a dozzen Chambers of brick and mudd be built on the Northside of the Compound for them to live in; And that the Charges Generall keeper gets them finished before the Rainy Season comes in. . .

The Compound Enlarged to the Northward.

March 18.—There being a Tank of water near the ffactory-gate which is very offensive to the place and there being occasion for more Ground to enlarge the Compound to the Northward where the chambers for the ffactors and Writers are to be built.

Tis ORDER'D that the Charges Generall keeper fills up the same speedily.

And the Trench which was made round the ffactory by the Commissary Generalls order to drain the water from the higher ground as a means to keep the place wholesome being partly fill'd with mud since the Rains, and severall holes cutt therein by which puddles and standing-water may remaine to offend the ffactory

ORDER'D that the Trench or ditch be cutt 2 or 3 Covids[1] deeper or what is necessary to carry the raine water into the River. . .

A Fire in the Bāzār.

March 29.—This day at noon a house near the Buzzar [*bāzār*][2] chanc'd to be fired and the wind being very strong and southerly

[1] A covid is a cubit or ell, from the Portuguese *covado*.

[2] Here the principal Indian business quarter in Calcutta, the *baṛā bāzār*.

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occasion'd the burning many others belonging to our Seamen and Souldiers, and afterwards consumed the whole Buzzar in two Hours time, which the fierceness of the wind and fire made impossible to prevent or to save but a small part of their Goods and Necessaries. . .

Charnock's House Sold.

April 8.—The House which Agent Charnock formerly liv'd in and lately Mr. Ellis, being of Thatch was by an accident burnt down one Night; and Order'd to be rebuilt by the Charges Generall Keeper Mr. Cormell, and to be cover'd with brick for security, but the charge exceeding what we expected (it amounting to 400 and odd Rupees) and being a considerable distance from the ffactory, And inconvenient for the Companys Servants for that reason Mr. Cormell was order'd to dispose of it by outcry, which was accordingly done for 575 Rupees. . .

Braddyll's Old House Sold.

April 22.—There being a small thatcht House by the water-side belonging to the Right Honourable Company (which Mr. Braddyll formerly livd in) desired by Mr. Michaell Meeke who proffers a hundred rupees for the same, and the benefitt of a Compound: we consented to let him have it for that money Since its at a great distance from the ffactory so inconvenient to lodge the Companys Servants. . .

The New Brick Lodgings and Godowns Washed Down.

June 5.—Having had constant Rains and high winds for these three days and Nights, the Companys new brick Lodgings and part of the Godown[1] not being finished was wash'd down and severall houses in town much damaged. . .

Arrangement for Rebuilding the Lodgings and Godowns.

June 24.—The late storm of wind and raine being extream violent for three days, wash'd down the greatest part of our new buildings, especially the Lodging rooms, but the Godowns having received the least damage, and most wanted, the Bricklayer hath

[1] Store-place, warehouse.

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undertaken the rebuilding them this Rains for a gratuity of 120 rupees—And the lodging Roomes after the Rains are over in November, the whole included in said Gratuity; for having agreed with him by the great (*sic*), the severity of his Obligation obliges him to rebuild them at his own charge, but the workmen in this country having only from hand to mouth to subsist, Tis thought reasonable, and agreed to allow him said gratuity of Rupees 120.[1]

20. The Improvement of the Revenues.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal, London, May 14, 1696. *Paragraph* 12. *Letter Book No.* 9.

In confidence of our Settlement in a short time, as we have plainly hinted to you before We must remind you of the improvement of our Revenues at Chuttanuttee by all the means you can, and by which you know it has been done at ffort St. George, It is good to be beginning by Degrees, and doing what you can, we know it cannot be thoroughly setled till you have a Phirmaund for your Settlement there and we our long expected Act of Parliament.

21. The Rebellion of S'obhā Siṃha and the Company's Affairs in Bengal.

Extract from General Letter from Fort St. George to the Court, September, 30, 1696. *O.C., No.* 6,279.

34. In Bengall your Honours affairs went on (notwithstanding the troubles at Surat) without any impediment from the Government. The Nabob and Duan of Daca agreeing in favouring and encourageing trade, though they quarrel about the Government. But their last Letter complains of the disturbance occasioned by the rebellion of a Raja[2] and expected from the arrival of the Inter-

[1] In 'Generall Expences' of the Factory for August, 1695, the charge for 'New Godown building' is Rs. 1,396.9.

[2] The reference is to the rebellion of S'obhāsiṃha, *rājah* of Chetūyā, in 1696-97. See my *English in Bengal*, I., 147 to 150, and Stewart's *History of Bengal*, 207 to 217. The story of these events is also found in the *Kshitīśa-vaṃśāvalicharitam*, where the origin of outbreak is thus explained: 'At this time it happened that the capital of S'obhāsiṃha, king of Chetuyā, was plundered by Kṛishṇarāma, king of Vardhamāna, whose country was not far from S'obhāsiṃha. But soon S'obhāsiṃha, greatly

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loper the *Antelope* Edward Clive Supra Cargo in the middle of August concerning both which we doubt not but your Honours will receive from Bengall a perticular account by the *Russell* frigate. The advice wee have received is in the Letters from Bengall No. [1] by which it appears that the Rajas forces have taken Possession of Hughly ffort and the Choukeys [*chaukis*][2] upon the river to Muxadavad [Maqṣūdābād],' so that the Goods could not pass but by their leave. The Dutch assisted the Moors, and regained Hughly ffort. But the master of the Vessell that came from Bengall saies that the Rajas men hath retaken it, and there doth not yet appear an Army of the Kings to subdue them. So that how far they will proceed or how long continue masters of what they have is uncertain. That which respects your Honours affairs is the present security of the ffactory. The carrying on the Investment and fortifying of the Factory. The Agent and Councill seem to have taken the most prudent method for those purposes in maintaining a freindship with both parties in such a manner as that the Raja doth not suspect them, and yet the Nabob sends them thanks for their assistance against the Raja. It will be difficult for them to carry on such a policy long without being necessitated by one accident or other to declare for one party; in which case we have advised them in our Letter of the 5th Instant (Copy whereof comes herewith) to take the part of the Moors Government as far as will consist with their present safety. Because it is more probable they will at last subdue the rebell. Then those who have assisted him must fall under of (*sic*) the Government, and if they have built any thing like a ffortification, it will be observed and probably will either be demolished or must be maintained by force, whereas the buildings of those who have assisted the Government may probably be connived at if not too great and to much like a Fort.

enraged at this attack, marching through a forest by a road unknown to the inhabitants of Vardhamāna, passed the river Dāmodara, on the bank of which Vardhamāna lies, and took up a position before the latter city.' *Kshitīśa-vaṃśāvalīcharitam*, edited and translated by W. Pertsch, Berlin, 1852, 45 and 46.

[1] Blank in the original.

[2] Stations, outposts.

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22. During the Rebellion; Building the Fort.

Extracts from Chutanutte Diary and Consultations, December 23, 1696; *January* 1, *April* 1, 12, *and* 15, 1697. *Factory Records, Calcutta, No.* 2.

The Diamond *Anchored on Guard off Sūtānuṭī.*

December 23, 1696.—The Rebells forces being somewhat abusive and Captain Merrys Ship not being in a readiness to goe on any Servis, with Consent of Captain Lawrence and Mr. Bowridge part Owners of Ship *Diamond*

Its AGREED that Shee be sent up to Chuttanutte point there to ride till ffryday Evening to prevent the Rebells forces from Coming over on this Side the river.

An Order was Giuen Captain Lawrence as per the aboue Consultation who this Evening Anchor'd his Ship opposite to Chuttanutte point. . .

Employed in Fortifying.

January 1, 1697. — Wrote a Generall to the Lieutenant Generall of India &c[a] Council that we were imployed in ffortifying our Selves and wanted proper Gunns for the points desiring they would spare 10 for that use, also gaue them an Account of the proceedings against the Interlopers at Court, and the disencouragement they have mett with there. . .

A Neighbouring Rājah *Deposits Money.*

April 1.—Ramkissen [Rāmkṛishṇa] a Neighbouring Rajah[1] hauing forty Eight thousand Rupees in the hands of the Agent, which he

[1] This is Rāmakṛishṇa, *rājah* of Navadvīpa, or Nuddea, in Bengal. It appears from the *Kshitīśa-vaṃśāvalīcharitam*, cited above, that he was the son of *rājah* Rudrarāya by his younger wife. On the death of his father his elder brother Rāmajīvana succeeded, but was dethroned by the nabob of Bengal, and Rāmakṛishṇa was made King instead. This happened before the rebellion of Śobhāsiṃha. When Śobhāsiṃha attacked Vardhamāna—*i.e.*, Burdwan—the *rājah* Kṛishṇarāma sent his son to Rāmakṛishṇa for safety. Rāmakṛishṇa lived on good terms with Prince 'Aẓīmu-sh-shān and with the English. 'The governor of the southern foreigners in Calcutta . . . showed likewise continual friendship towards him and placed a garrison of 2,500 so-called 'soldiers' who were skilled in the use of all kinds of weapons and missiles in Kṛishṇagara to execute the plans of Rāmākṛishṇa' (*Kshitīśa-vaṃśāvalīcharitam*, 50). He overcame the King of Jessore, but was taken prisoner by Murshid Qulī, Ja'far Khān, and died in prison of small-pox, after a government of eleven years. On his death Rāmajīvana was reinstated by Ja'far

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lately put into his possession during the present Warrs and Commotions in the Country as thinking it more Secure in his hands and being unwilling to be knowne to the Government to haue mony as is the Custome of all the Rajahs and Jimmidars of the Country to keep their Riches private the Agent made the Councill acquainted herewith which taking into consideration, and of what advantage it would be to our Right Honourable Masters if Said Summe could be taken up at low intrest in which there was Some probability considering the disposition of the person and his unwillingness to owne so great a Summe in publique. Overtures were accordingly made him, about the premises; and the Result was that we should allow him ten Annaes per Cent per mensem for his mony which was accordingly agreede to by both parties and that an Obligation be giuen him to that Effect. . .

Money to go on Building.

April 12.—Mr. Cormell intimating his want of mony to goe on with the building and other Expences its order'd that he receiue five thousand Rupees. . .

The Governor of Hijili Stops at Calcutta.

April 15.—The Late governor of Hugly Mirza Buraunulla [Mirzā Burhānu-llah] being order'd Governour of Hidgly and requesting we would Spare him a Lodging in Calcutta till Such time he could get his Servants and Retinue in a redinesse to procede on his journey: Wee haue in Consideration of the Servis he may be able to doe our Right Honourable Masters (as he is the Kings Munsubdar [*manṣabdār*][1] and a Person who is makeing an Intrest for the Government of Ballasore where their affaires may

Khān. Having magnificently celebrated the birth of his grandson Kṛishṇachandra in 1710, he died after a reign of ten years. His son Raghurāma reigned thirteen years, and died in 1728 A.D. The dates of these *rājahs* apparently are, Rāmakṛishṇa, 1695 to 1705; Rāmajīvana, 1706 to 1715; Raghurāma, 1716 to 1728. If Rāmajīvana's ten years' reign includes any portion of his rule before his deposition, we must put Rāmakṛishṇa a little later; but the deposition of Rāmajīvana and accession of Rāmakṛishṇa cannot be put later than 1696, as Rāmakṛishṇa was *rājah* at the time of the outbreak of Sobhāsiṃha.

[1] A person of rank. Mr. Irvine has shown that *manṣab* practically means rank, and *manṣabdār* the holder of rank. See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1896, pp. 510 *et seq.*

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require it, as also to oblige the Government thought convenient to hyre Mr. Crokes house for his Accommodation considering the time of his stay will be so short with us.

23. The Advantage of Hiring the Adjacent Land.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, April 16, 1697. *Paragraph* 6. *Letter Book No.* 9.

We are glad to hear your Town of Chuttanuttee increases so exceedingly as we hear it doth, and that you have had your healths so extraordinarily well this last two years, And we think that now we have continued so long there, We need not fear ever being removed by any Order from Court, And that therefore you may do well before the Value of the Ground or Land adjoyning to our Settlement appears to publick Observation to hire of the Jemmidar of that Countrey 3 or 4 Miles circumjacent to your ffactory at the rent of 800 or 1000 Rupees per Annum, or rather than fail double that Summe by which hereafter in peaceable times a great revenue may Accrue to the Company,[1] But we utterly forbid all Jemmidarring of any of our Servants or any English whatsoever, It being only the Companyes prerogative to hire Lands of the Government or Jemidars of any Countrey, if any English build or improve any Land near our ffactoreys or Habitations, they shall hold the same of the Company at a very moderate ground rent, but suffer none to take or hold or improve any Land held of the Government or other inferiour Jemidars in that Countrey to which we expect Conformity from your Selves and all other English.

24. At Calcutta in May, 1697.

Extracts from Chutanutte Diary and Consultations, May 3 *and* 27, 1697. *Factory Records, Calcutta, No.* 2.

The Governor of Hijili takes his Leave.

May 3.—The late Governor of Hugly Mirza Buraunulla [Mirzā Burhānu-llah] being ready to take his leave of us; and having Honor'd us with his Company Severall times a thing unusuall for men of his Post and quallity, and being a Person who is capable of Serving our Right Honourable Masters in many respects,

[1] Compare extract 15 above.

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It's AGREED to be of absolute necessity to present him with the following Particulars vizt.

	Rs.	a.	
Broadcloth Ordinary. 2 pś. qt. 41 yds.	123	0	0
Do. ffine 10 yards	80	0	0
fflint ware 11 peices	50	6	0
Swords 2	15	0	0
wax ffigures 2	7	0	0
	275	6	0

Mulna Nasseere [Mullā Nāṣir] a Religious man, and a person in great favour with the Nabob coming to Calcutta on this Occasion of dispatching the aforesaid Mirza [Mirzā] and making us a Visitt, it was thought Necessary to present him with the ffollowing Particulars vizt.

Broad Cloth Ordinary	15 yds.	2 fflint Bottles.	
Do. ffine	5	1 Sword.	

New Buildings, Fifty Gunmen Disbanded.

May 27.—There being an absolute Necessity for some convenient place to put the Right Honourable Companys Stores and provisions in, and it appearing dangerous to have thatch Houses within the Garrison, where, Upon the present Occasion there are greate Quantities of Powder,

Tis ORDER'D that Necessary Conveniency be built with brick and Mudd for the greater Security.

The Rebells fforces being fled from these parts and Matters pretty quiett hereabouts,

Tis ORDERED that fifty Gunmen be disbanded to retrench Charges and we shall continue the same as affaires require.

25. RENEWED ORDERS TO KEEP ALL TOGETHER.

Extract from General Letter from Fort St. George to the Court, June 3, 1697. *O.C., No.* 6,408.

Our latest Letters from Bengall dated the 19th March last and before doe advise, that the Rebells Rajahs forces have overrun all Bengall but Hugly and Decca, and that if they should overcome the Moores Army they will proceed to those places, and then our ffactory will be in danger if not well Guarded by Shipping and that Mr. Sheldon and Mr. Teshmaker att Rajamaull are seized,

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and detained with 20,000 Rupees of Goods belonging to your Honours and as much more belonging to Armenians &c[a] wee have therefore Renewed our orders to them not to trust men or money into inland parts, but to keep all together, and buy goods for ready money giveing Dadne [*dādnī*][1] only for such sort of goods as are not otherwise procurable and to such men as are responsible for the risque.

26. After the Defeat of the Rebels.

Extracts from Chutanutte Diary and Consultations, June, July, and August, 1697. Records, Calcutta, No. 2.

Retrenchment and Recovery of Losses.

June 3rd.—The Generall of the Moores forces haveing beaten the Rebell from Rajahmaull and Muxoodavad, and persued him into his Owne Country where he is makeing preparation to beate him out there and none of his forces appearing about these parts; it was thought convenient and agreede to write a letter to the Generall Zubberdust Caune [Zabardast Khān][2] desiring to know his pleasure about our Soldiers posted in the Kings ffort; whether we might not withdraw them, and our Sloope from thence, the enemy being ffled from all parts; hoping by this means to receiue his Order for the same; which will be a greate retrenchment of that Charge, which lyes very heavy upon us.

June 4th.—Receiued a generall from Rojahmaull of the 28th Ultimo of their recovery of greate part of the Companys goods, but with large expence as per Account sent, and Severall things that are Stole and can't be recovered.

Negotiations with Zabardast Khān and Prince 'Aẓīmu-sh-shān.

June 24th.—Cojah Surhaud [Khwājah Sarhād][3] having offer'd his Servis to goe to the Nabobs Son Zubberdust Caun, Generall of

[1] *Dādnī*, an advance made to weavers or craftsmen.

[2] Muḥammad Khalīl, Zabardast Khān, was the son of the Nawāb Ibrāhīm Khān. He attacked the rebels and dispersed them. See my *English in Bengal*, I., 148 to 150. In the forty-second year of 'Ālamgīr, 1698-99, he was appointed Governor of Oudh. He died at Lahore in the first half of 1125 H., his death being reported at Delhi on 9 Jumādī I, May 23, 1713.

[3] Khwājah Israel Sarhād, a leading Armenian merchant in Calcutta and nephew of Khwājah Phanus Khalanthar. He is said to have been personally known to Prince Farrukhsiyar, the son of Prince 'Aẓīmu-sh-shān, from whom, as we shall see, he procured permission to rent the three townships. He afterwards played a con-

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the Mogulls forces Against the Rebell, and Governor of all these parts at present to make Application in behalfe of the Right Honourable Company against the Interlopers, it's resolued and agreede to by us, that he proceede accordingly. And because Persons who haue buisness are not acceptable and welcome to these great Persons empty handed[1] for the more effectuall and Speedy procuring redress And getting out Perwanna's to prevent the Interlopers from trade,

It's AGREED and resolued that an Arruzdaast [*'arẓdāsht*][2] or Letter be sent to the Nabobs Son to the same Effect; Also a Present to the Value of a Thousand Rupees, in Broadcloth, fflint ware &c[a] as under Specified and that verball directions be giuen Cojah Surhaud to Countenance and forward his proceedings against the Interlopers, and more especially to insist upon the late Servises we have done the King.

Having receiued advises that the Princes Son, is arrived at Mongeere [Munger] halfe way betweene Pattana and Rajahmaull designing not to move farther this way till the raines are over; We think it absolutely necessary to Order Mr. Teshmaker from Rajamaull, or Mr. Sheldon from Pattana to Visitt the Prince (as most persons have already done) with a Nuzzerana [*naẓrānah*][3] of 25 Mohurs and 100 Rupees.[4] . . .

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spicuous, but not altogether creditable, part in the Surman embassy to Delhi in the years 1715 to 1717. See my *English in Bengal*, I., 125, 150, 200, and II., 157. The honorific title *khwājah* is given to him and Armenians generally as being great merchants. According to Sir Richard Burton it is applied to notables by Khorāsānis. It is constantly applied to merchants in the *Arabian Nights*, as, for instance, in the story of Aladdin we have: 'Now, when Aladdin heard the words of his uncle the Moorman, and the design of making him a khwājah (merchant and gentleman) he joyed exceedingly, knowing that such folks dress handsomely and fare delicately.'

[1] cf. 1 Sam. ix. 7, and 2 Kings viii. 8.

[2] A memorial, so called from its initial words.

[3] A *naẓrānah* is a gift offered at a visit to a superior in India. Compare the conclusion of the story of 'Prince Ahmad and the Fairy Pari Bānu': 'So they crowded to swear fealty and bring presents and nazrānahs, and raised shouts of acclamation, crying out, "Long live King Ahmad!"' The practice, as Burton notes, is constantly found in the Old Testament—as, for example, in the story of Naaman and in the passages cited above.

[4] Prince Muḥammad 'Aẓīmu-sh-shān, grandson of 'Ālamgīr, was appointed to (according to *Ma'āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 387) the government of Bengal and the *faujdārī* of Koch Bahār in 1108 H. at some date after Ramaẓān I.—i.e., after March 14, but before July 10, 1697.

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July 1*st*.—Consultation. ORDER'D that Mr. Teshmaker whome we order'd lately from Rajamaull to visitt the Prince,[1] take the first convenient oppertunity to Complaine against Sauduttoolah [Sa'ādatu-llah] Governor of Ballasore for the Abuses we haue lately receiued in our affaires there; and that he unjustly takes all Occasions to giue us trouble and prejudice in our trade; and notwithstanding wee haue the Nabobs and Duans Perwannas to prevent Interlopers trading in these parts, he takes little notice thereof but, on the Contrary encourages them; and permits them to trade all which injuries considered Mr. Teshmaker is further ordered to gett him displaced if possible, and to Acquaint the Prince that these people are not licensed to come into these parts; that a great deale of mischeife and many inconveniences haue acrew'd to the Mogulls Subjects by Straingers roving up and downe in this Nature, Shewing him at the same time the Nabobs and Duans Perwannas forbidding them trade in these parts; which may be a means to procure his Perwanna to the Same Effect to the totall overthrow of their designes. . . .

July 8*th*.—Cojah Surhaud being return'd to us from Zubberdust Caun with his perwanna on the Governors of Hugly and Ballasore to hinder the Interlopers from trade, its Orderd that the Perwannas be dispeeded forthwith to said Governors and because the ffactory of Ballasore was thought fitt to be withdrawn during the troubles with the Rebell and the Government and not yett Setled by reason the Governor of that place countenances Interlopers Contrary to the Nabobs Orders which was urged and declared to the Governor by Mr. Stanley as the only reason for leaving the place,

Its AGREEDE that the Perwanna be sent to Mr. Addams our Pilott to be delivered the Vacqueele [*wakīl*],[2] but if he be in trouble, to be delivered by himselfe to the Governor and demand his Answer, which he is order'd to Send us with a Perticular Account of what he knows concerning the Interlopers. . . .

August 5*th*.—Diary. Received a letter from Mr. Addams Pilott at Ballasore that Zubberduzt Cauns Perwanna has beene delivered the Governor there against the Interlopers; which he refuses to Execute, and only makes use thereof to force mony from the

[1] Prince 'Aẓīmu-sh-shān, the grandson of Aurangzīb.

[2] i.e., attorney, agent.

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Merchants. He writes that it's reported, Mr. Petty and Catchpole haue giuen out 80: Thousand Rupees to be Invested there, and that said Persons were departed thence to Hugly. . . .

August 8th.—Received a letter from Mr. Teshmaker at Mongeere of his Visiting the Prince, and the Success he had for the Recovery of the Companys Goods, taken from us at Rajahmaull also against the Interlopers now Arrived. . . .

August 9th.—Received a Letter from Mr. Addams at Ballasore that the Interlopers business goes on there without any trouble or hindrance from that Governour. . . .

August 23rd.—Consultation. Mr. John Antony Teshmaker who was sent up to solicit the young Prince[1] at Mongeere for the restoring of the Right Honourable Companys and Particular Persons Concernes (fraudulently detained by the Government at Rajahmaull) being by most certaine advices Droun'd by a Storm in Crossing the River thereabouts; whose Suddaine Death, if some person be not presently Sent may Occasion greate Damage both to the Right Honourable Company and the Deceaseds consernes— Therefore we have AGREEDE that Mr. Edward Herne be order'd to repaire to Rajahmaull with the greatest Expedition for his Securing the Same, and to giue him the Needfull instructions thereunto and that he receiue two hundred Rupees for Expences. . . .

August 26th.—Diary. Mr. Edward Hern departed for Rajahmaull having received mony for his Expences, and a letter to the Phousdar [*faujdār*][2] there to further his getting in the Right Honourable Companys and the Deceased Mr. Teshmakers concerns, also instructions from us thereabouts. . . .

27. THE COURT WISH TO GET A FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT WITH FRUGALITY.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Fort St. George. London, September 1, 1697. Letter Book No. 9.

We know not particularly what directions to give at this great distance and uncertainty of the truth and Particulars of this

[1] As 'Aẓīmu-sh-shān was born in December, 1665, he would be thirty-one in August, 1697. To call him 'the young Prince' is, therefore, not inappropriate.

[2] Magistrate.

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Rebellion, but think it highly necessary to improve the present opportunity to get a fortifyed Settlement in Bengall, which we have for many years past been endeavouring to obtain. You will see by the Bengall Letter, we have limited the ffortification to our ffactory only, being unwilling to lay out a great deal of Money at this time considering our late severe Losses and discouragements, but on the whole we leave it to you to give Directions and Orders as you shall see fit upon the advices you from time to time receive from thence.

28. THE SAME.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, September 1, 1697. *Letter Book No.* 9.

Although we have not yet received your Letters by our returning Ships, now at Cadiz, We hear by other hands, that the Rebellion of the Jammadar or Raja, hath put a necessity upon the Dutch and ffrench to fortify their Towns or ffactoryes, which we believe at such a time of danger, as that was cannot be ill resented by the Mogol, or Nabob of Decca, And therefore, We do not only approve of the Bastion, We hear you have raised at Chuttanuttee for the Defence of our Estates, and your Selves, But we give you permission (with frugality, Building being cheap in that Country) to make such ffortifications about our ffactory as may be (through Gods Blessing) an effectuall Security against any Attempt of the Enemy.

29. KHWĀJAH SARHĀD SENT AGAIN TO ZABARDAST KHĀN.

Extract from Chutanutte Diary and Consultations, September 13, 1697. *Factory Records, Calcutta, No.* 2.

Understanding that Mr. Petty and Catchpole (Notwithstanding our sending up Cojah Surhaud to hinder their obtaining any encouragement from the Government) haue procur'd some favour from Zubberdust Caun in their affaires upon their presenting him with about the Value of Six thousand Rupees it's agreed to send Cojah Surhaud again to Zubberdust Caune to endeavour his utmost against them; and to lett us be Satisfied if our proposalls in the giuing twenty thousand Rupees will be accepted and agreed to by him.

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30. A NEW COOK-ROOM BUILT.

Extract from Chutanutie Diary and Consultations, October 7, 1697. Factory Records, Calcutta, No. 2.

The Cookroome for the use of the ffactory being built with thatch, hath beene burnt Severall times, and is a continuall Expence it being necessary to haue the Same within the ffactory these troublesome times;

'Tis AGREEDE that it be built with brick at the end of the Lodgings made for the Right Honourable Companys Servants with one or two roomes more to Meete the Wall at the Water Side, having occasion thereof.

30*. ACCOUNT OF THE RECENT POLITICAL CHANGES WHICH APPEAR ADVERSE TO THE ENGLISH IN BENGAL.

Extract from General Letter from Bengal to the Court, Chuttanuttee, January 6, 1698. O.C., No. 6,485.

The alteration of the Government by the Nabobs removall from the subaship[1] of Bengall to that of Pattana (where we understand he is confirmed) hath very much disappointed us in our expectations of frustrating the Interlopers designs; for Mr. Catchpoole being on his way to Dhacca and understanding the Nabob was displaced returned to Muxoodavad and applyed himself to the new Duan who being a Covetous man receiv'd a bribe of Mr. Catchpoole and 3000 rupees Piscash for the King and granted them a Perwanna for their trade which they thinking not Sufficient untill they had it confirmed by the Prince applyed themselves to the Prince his Mutsuddies [*mutaṣaddīs*][2], Mr. Catchpoole offering 14000 rupees for the Princes Nashaan [*nishān*][3], and advised thereof to Mr. Petty, who not approveing of giveing away soe much money, Mr. Catchpoole return'd without effecting anything at the Prince's Durbar [*darbār*][4] Mr. Petty being mightily concerned that Mr. Catchpoole should proffer So large a Summe and is making preparations to gett away least the money should bee forced from them, which is the opinion of most people, and that they have itt not to pay, they having Given out most of their money on Impress for Goods, which they are uncertain when will come in, but the

[1] i.e., the *ṣūbah*, or government. See footnote to extract 48.
[2] i.e., clerks.
[3] i.e., a grant signed by the Prince.
[4] Court.

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Government being unsettled, they have little or no obstruction given to their affairs. . . .

On the News hereof [of the rejection of the Dutch and their present] wee were advised to delay our Present some time till wee could hear that matters were in a better posture, which wee have accordingly hitherto done but being advised the Dutch have lately had admittance to the Prince, and that he hath accepted of the Present wee are making preparations to forward ours and have made Choice of, and appointed Mr. Stanley to represent our Right Honourable Masters affairs according to our Instructions given him, and send our Vacqueel as a Linguist along with him and Mr. Dunster as an Assistant to Mr. Stanley—Mons. Pelgram and Hÿsman were representatives for the Dutch and wee should have sent two of the Counsill were they in health, and Could bee spared at this busy time, wee have been very much streighten'd for want of rarities to make up the present for the Prince, but have pick'd out of what wee have what we think may be most acceptable which with the Broad Cloth will amount to about 16000 rupees and have recommended to Mr. Stanley's care more particularly the defeating the Interlopers, and procureing a Mint at Hugly, which latter wee understand the Dutch are very Intent upon.

The Prince since his Arrivall at Burduan hath made no attempts on the Enemy, who are still about 5000 Horse strong and its thought able to Cope with the Prince who has not above 6000 Horse—Zubberdust Cawne is gone away in disgust with his Own Army consisting of 8000 horse to a Government in Hindoostan allotted him by the King and notwithstanding all Perswasions and Messages from the Prince to bring him back, he will not returne, which has put the Prince to a Nonplus, his Army being so much the more lessen'd thereby and the Rebells we understand are resolved not to submitt themselves but to fight itt out, declaring that they cannot dye more honourably than by the hands of a Prince that if they Gaine the Victory, they Shall have the Country of Bengal in their hands, otherwise must submit to fortune—Its reported the Enemy sent a message to the Prince that they would Joyn with him and make him King of Bengall, that his Grandfather Orungzeeb [Aurangzīb] was old and Crazy and incapable of Government On the other hand 'tis reported that the Prince

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should send the Rebell shackles of Silver and a sword to make Choice of, and that he should returne answer, that the sword he would wear, and if it were his fortune afterwards he would put on the shackles Its very doubtful which Side will get the better but tis the Opinion of most people that there will be a sharp encounter very Suddenly, the Prince having crossed the River Dammoder, which is in the Rebels Country, and Intends to give them battle, the Issue whereof wee shall Informe your Excellency as wee find occasion, The Trade of Bengall is Open to all Parts, except to that Country, but we have a great loss in Ebram Cauns [Ibrāhīm Khān's] removal as also in Kafaet Cauns [Kifāyat Khān's][1] death, who was upon his way to Bengal againe, appointed the Prince his Naib. The present Duan is a very Covetous man, and being advised that he will expect a present from us or hinder our business Wee have ordered Mr. Meverall to present him with Broadcloth &c[a]. . . .

31. THE COURT APPROVE OF WHAT HAS BEEN DONE AND REITERATE THEIR ORDERS TO SECURE A FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL WITH FRUGALITY AND WITHOUT GIVING OFFENCE.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, January 26, 1698. *Paragraphs* 12 *and* 13. *Letter Book No.* 10.

We rejoyce to hear Chuttanuttee improves in Healthiness and much more that by a praise worthy Temperance our People shutt up that Door through which Diseases and Mortality have broken in upon our Servants in Bengall, as it will do in the most temperate Climate.

We approve of your fortifying Chuttanuttee, as you will see in our Letters by the *Tavistock*, and since Copyes whereof are enclosed, and wish you have taken this Opportunity to make your ffortifications regular and as strong as you can, Building being

[1] Mīr Aḥmad, entitled Kifāyat Khān, son of Mīr Baghdādī. He was appointed *dīwān-i-khāliṣah* early in the forty-first year of 'Ālamgīr, in Ramaẓān, 1108 H., or March, 1627. Mr. Irvine tells me that his appointment is thus recorded in the *Ma'āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī*: 'Kifāyat 'Khān, Mīr Aḥmad, late *dīwān* of *ṣūbah*, Bengal, was appointed *peshdast*, head clerk, of the office of the *khāliṣah*, exchequer, in place of Rashīd Khān, deceased.' The *Tārikh-i-Muḥammadī* states that he died in 1109 H., while *dīwān-i-khāliṣah*.

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cheap in Bengall your Bulwarks well faced with stone or Brick, That the Raines may not prejudice or wash them down, now or never must be your time to put in Execution our repeated Orders for many Years past to secure a fortify'd Settlement in Bengall, We are not solicitous for the largeness so much as the strength of it, lest it create a vast Charge of many Soldiers to maintain it, However, use all possible frugality therein, and make it as tenable as you can, you must carry it so evenly and calmly with the Government there, that they may connive at, if not approve your ffortifications, as it is most likely they will, when they see you dont take any Advantage thereby to quarrell with or oppose them, But if you could get an open approvall of them by the Mogol or Nabob the better, We are informed by some persons lately come on the *Antilope* that the Dutch have made their ffactory impregnable, have set up for themselves, and yet perswade the Rajah, what they did was only in their own Defence, while you too soon declared for the Nabob against the Rebell which he vows to revenge, and is become irreconcileable, This report being different from your Letters now before Us, We shall stay till we hear further before we absolutely believe it, In the mean time be sure to secure your Selves to compleat your ffortifications, To carry it fair as you can with all the contending Parteys, and without an Absolute Necessity, side with neither, And if you should be forced to joyn with either to doe it in such a manner as will admit of a fair Excuse if question'd for it by the other and that what you did was the Effect of meer necessity not Choyce, That Merchants desire no Enemyes and would create none.

32. THE SAME.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Fort St. George. London, January 26, 1698. *Paragraph* 21. *Letter Book No.* 10.

We have various reports touching the Rebellion of the Rajah in Bengall our Agent and Council write Us, as you also do we suppose from their Information, That they keep in with both Partyes and appear Enemy to neither, but that in truth they incline most for the Mogol, and the Nabob by a Lucky Accident of his People routing some of the Rebells by our ffactory, believes our Agent and Servants to be entirely in his Interest, That the Dutch and

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ffrench have openly opposed the Rebell who threatens to be revenged on them, But by some of the People arriv'd on the *Antelope* just come into the River, We hear that the Dutch have acted more like Politicians, preserving a better Interest with the Rajah or Jemidar perswading him, that what they have done was only in their own Defence, and in the mean time have so strongly fortifyed themselves as to defy the attempts of either side, and have set up and declared for themselves, while the English have but very slightly secured the ffactory and by too soon declaring for the Mogoll have incensed the Rebell against them, past all Reconciliation, We know not what Creditt to give to this report, nor consequently what to advise you thereupon only this, write to them to secure themselves to get their ffortifications well strengthened and regularly made having so good an Opportunity, And if possible to offend neither Party, nor side with either, but carry it swimmingly towards both, and if necessitated to declare themselves To do it in such a Manner as will admitt of a fair Excuse to the other Party, if ever they happen to Question them for it.

33. Sale of an Outhouse.

Extract from Chutanutte Diary and Consultations, January 31, 1698. *Factory Records, Calcutta, No.* 3.

There being an Outhouse and ground belonging to the Right Honourable Company which at present is useless, None of their Servants living therein, there being now room enough in the ffactory for all ffactors and Writers—

Its AGREED and ORDER'D that said House (being only made of thatch) be sold at Publick Outcry, the produce brought into the Right Honourable Companys Cash.

34. Negotiations for Farming the Three Towns.

Extracts from Chutanutte Diary and Consultations, March to July, 1698. *Factory Records, Calcutta, No.* 3.

March 7th.—Consultation. Having try'd all means with the Jimidar of the Country adjacent to us, to let us have the town of Decalcutta [Dihī Calcutta][1] at the Usuall hyre or rent and rather

[1] District Calcutta, as opposed to the central and smaller *bāzar*, Calcutta.

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than faile, having promis'd him ¼ part more than the place at present brings him in, and all to no purpose, he making frivolous and Idle Objections that he will not let us have any part of that Country in the Right Honourable Companys name, but that we might have it to our use in any of the Natives names the reason he gives for it is that the place will be wholly lost to him, that we are a powerfull people and that he cannot be possessed of his Country againe when he sees occasion, whereas he can take it from any of the Natives that rent any part of his Country at his pleasure; In Consideration whereof, and the difficulty we find in treating with these inferior Jimmidars in which there's neither Security nor Creditt to what there may be, if we have the Country rented from the great ones:[1]

Its AGREED that we Apply our selves to the Prince, to make what Intrest we can amongst his Officers for three towns Vizt. Chutanuttee, Decalcutta and Gobinpore [Govindpur],[2] the ground of which will be to that extent required by our Right Honourable Masters.

And the rent amount[ing] to about as much money as they have likewise allotted us, And Considering that we are making a Present to the Prince about other Affairs We hope there will be the less difficulty in getting a grant for the aforesaid towns but if there should appear any, rather than be disappointed of so great a Conveniency as those towns will prove to the Honourable Company

Its AGREED that we advance a quarter part more than the Revenues bring in at present to the Jimmidar, intending to improve the same to better advantage then hitherto has been done or the Jimmidars are capable of. . . .

March 7th.—Diary. Receiv'd a Generall from Mr. Walsh giving an Account of what Observations he had made since his arrivall at the Prince his Camp which was the 24th Ultimo. And what was begun in The Companys Affairs. . . .

[1] Mr. A. K Ray supposes (see p. 22 of his *History of Calcutta*, quoted above) that the Mazumdār family were so friendly to the English that they let them have the towns for a nominal sum. This does not agree with account given in the present extract. See, too, extract 38 below.

[2] Govindpur stood near the site of the present Fort William, and was the southern of the three townships. Sūtānuṭī lay to the north, and Calcutta between the other two.

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March 10*th.*—Answer'd Mr. Walsh his Letter and acquainted him with the Right Honourable Companys Orders for our farming the Adjacent towns to us And that since we could not bring the Jimmidar to agree hitherto, he must procure a grant for them of the Prince tho' we pay dearer then Ordinary. . . .

March 23*rd.*—Receiv'd a letter from Mr. Walsh in answer to what we had prescrib'd him. He advises that a Violent Storm had Split the Tent to peices that Severall things are broke and blown away, and 5 or 6 pieces of broad cloth damaged thereby And one of the Guns when try'd by the Prince his order splitt in fireing for which the Prince demands another. Enclos'd came Copy of a Letter he receiv'd from Mr. Sheldon at Patna to gett redress of the Prince in pursuance of his late Order Issued out against severall that detained and plunder'd the Companys &c^{a} Concerns in Rajamaule, but were disobey'd by inferior Officers. . . .

March 24*th.*—Consultation. Having receiv'd advices from Mr. Walsh at the Prince his Camp that notwithstanding the Present of broadcloth &c^{a} given the Prince there was so many Officers under him (thro' whose hands all business passes) which if not gratified would meddle with no business of the Right Honourable Companys And that there was at present a Stop put thereto. But that Cojah Surhaud and himself were of Opinion that five or Six thousand rupees more might bring matters to a Conclusion. In Consideration whereof and that there are many Complaints on foot against us (tho' unjust yet must be quash'd under this Corrupt Government that seeks to extort money or hinder business) we have Consented that Mr. Walsh and Cojah Surhaud give as they see occasion to those Persons that can serve Us, to the amount of 5 or 6 thousand rupees provided all business can be Accommodated. And Expresses are imediately order'd to be sent to Mr. Walsh &c^{a} at the Camp to acquaint them with our resolutions herein. . . .

April 1*st.*—Diary. Receiv'd a letter from Mr. Walsh that he had a promise of farming the 3 towns of Decallcutta, Gobinpoor and Chutanutte paying the King as [the] Jimmidar did and giving 2000 rupees to the Prince. Also came a letter from Cojah Surhaud to the like effect. . . .

Answer'd the Burduan Generalls about our renting the towns impeeding the Interlopers Affairs, prosecuting Ramjeebon [Rām-

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jīvan] and recovery of the Goods at Rajamaule And acquainted that another piece of Ordinance for the Prince was sent to the Hugly Fousdar. . . .

April 14th.—Consultation. Mr. Walsh at the Prince his Camp advising us that the Prince had granted most of the Articles we had Exhibitted relating to the Right Honourable Companys Priviledges And that the Prince his Son[1] and some of his Officers had requested severall odd things of us of no great Vallue, as Pistolls, white broad cloth a Watch, Brandy, Canary, Strong Waters &c[a],

Its AGREED that the same be provided with the most convenient Speed and sent to the Camp to be distributed as should be found necessary. . . .

June 11th.—Diary. Wrote an answer to the Burduan Generall received yesterday and Order'd if such Impediments continued about the Towns to get the Nishaan chaup'd[2] without it for delays were dangerous and greater Inconveniences may ensue since we can afterwards Importune for those towns. And sent the agents Arruzdaast to the Prince his son about the towns. . . .

June 22nd.—Receiv'd a letter from Mr. Walsh giving a particular Account of the Complaints Cojah Annuar [Khwājah Anwar] had got from the ffousdar of Hugley against us in time of the Warr, and presented to the Prince, but the Prince after a slight perusall of the papers deliver'd them to Cojah Manwarr [Khwājah Manavvar] and promis'd his Nishaan should in few days be given us with the towns inserted to put an end to the Importunities of Cojah Annuar &c[a]. . . .

July 2nd.—Receiv'd a letter from Mr. Walsh that the daily Complaints of the Jimmidars Vacqueels about our having the towns from them has occasion'd the Prince to satisfie them by ordering rupees 1000 to be paid the Jimmidar 500 rupees out of his treasury and 500 rupees by the Company. That the Duan has sign'd the Nishaan and sent it to the Prince and is hourly expected to be seal'd and deliver'd. . . .

July 14th.—Receiv'd a letter from Mr. Walsh dated the 11th Instant of his receipt of the Nishaan, and sent a Copy thereof

[1] i.e., Prince Farrukhsiyar, or possibly the elder son, Prince Muḥammad Karīm.

[2] Stamped, from Hindī, *chāpnā*, to stamp.

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enclosed he writes 'twas detain'd some time on account of the Jimmidars proffering 6000 rupees not to have the towns given to us. . . .

August 1st.—Receiv'd a letter from Mr. Walsh with three Copies of the Nishaan under the Cozzees [*qāẓī's*][1] seal.

35. The Approval of the Court.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, August 26, 1698. Paragraphs 5 and 7. Letter Book No. 10.

5. We approve of the ffortification you have made, and wish you to strengthen it by Degrees as you can without any publick Offence to the Countrey or the Great Men. . . .

7. You have done extraordinary well in reducing the out ffactoryes since you can doe our busyness better at Chuttanuttee [Sūtānuṭī] (which is our own Town) which will in a little time render the Place populous, and thereby encrease our Revenue, and by saving the Charge of out ffactoryes, you will have 5 or 6000l. Value the more to invest which is the Point of most concern to us especially while we are haunted with Interlopers.

36. Presents to the Young Prince.

Extract from Chutanutte Diary and Consultations, September 22, 1698. Factory Records, Calcutta, No. 3.

Mr. Walsh and Cojah Surhaud being arriv'd with Us from their Embassage to the Young Prince having finish'd all business to our great satisfaction and the honour and Creditt of our Right Honourable Masters and intimating us that they promis'd the Prince three Brass small pieces of Cannon his Curiosity or rather Warlike Disposition hankering after a handsome and Decent Artillery. In Consideration whereof and that they would be very Acceptable to him,

Its AGREED and ORDER'D that they be forthwith dispeeded to him, And because very Suddenly we may have further occasion to make use of his favours in matter wherein the Right Honourable Companys Affairs may receive great prejudice without his Countence and protection. Its further resolv'd that a present of the New Flint

[1] The *qāẓī* denotes the Moslem judge, the 'cadi' of our *Arabian Nights*.

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ware that came by the *Anna* (being the best and the greatest Curiosities that has come out of England these many years) be tender'd him to preserve the Friendship and Affection he hath in a more speciall manner demonstrated to the English above other Nations.

37. The Importance of Completing the Fortifications.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, October 28, 1698. *Paragraph* 14. *Letter Book No.* 10.

We are glad the Rebellion in Bengall is at an end, and that you wisely improved that Juncture to get a ffortification according to former Orders, We have by our last Years Letters again and again pressed you to compleat the Works belonging thereunto, making them very strong and regular, which we expect by your next Letters to hear are performed accordingly, If any thing yet remains unfinish'd, set instantly about it, and give no rest to your minds, till the whole be so perfected according to former Orders, as may be a full Security to you and satisfaction to us.

38. The Best Money that ever was Spent.

Extract from Chutanutte Diary and Consultations, October 31, 1698. *Factory Records, Calcutta, No.* 3.

The Prince having given us the three towns Adjacent to our settlement Vizt. Deculcutta, Chuttanuttee and Govindpore or more properly may be said the Jimmidarship of the said Townes paying the same rent to the King as the Jimmidars Successively have done; And at the same time Ordering the Jimmidar[s] of the said Towns to make over their right and Title to the English Upon their paying to the Jimidar[s] One thousand rupees for the same, It was agreed that the money should be paid being the best money that ever was Spent for so great a priviledge but the Jimidar[s] making a great noise being unwilling to part with their Country threatening to Complain to the King of the Injustice of the Prince in giving away their country which they had so long in Possession and finding them Continue in their Averseness Notwithstanding the Prince had an Officer upon them to bring them to a Complyance;

Its AGREED that 1500 rupees be paid them provided they will relinquish their Title to the said townes and give it under their

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Hands in writing that they have made Over the same to the Right Honourable Company.[1]

39. Deed of Purchase, or 'Bai' nāmah,' of the Three Towns.[2]

British Museum Additional MSS. No. 24,039, *No.* 39.

Copy of the deed of purchase of the villages Ḍihī Kalkatah, etc., bearing the seal of the *qāẓī* and the signature of the *zamīndārs*. The details are as follows.

We submissive to Islām, declaring our names[3] and descent, viz., Mānohar Dat[4] son of Bas Deo, the son of Raghu, and Rāmchand the son of Bidhyadhar, son of Jagdis;[5] and Rām Bhadar, the son of Rām Deo, son of Kesu;[6] and Prān, the son of Kalesar, the son of Gauri; and Manohar Singh, the son of Gandarb, the son of ;[8] being in a state of legal capacity and in enjoyment of all the rights given by the law; avow and declare upon this wise;

[1] Legally these so-called *zamīndārs* had no claim on the land, and no ground of complaint. The land belonged to the Emperor, to the *khāliṣah*, or fisc estates. See extract 135 and my *English in Bengal*, II., i., 116. 'It is true that the Majumdārs had for many years collected the rents from the ryots and called themselves *zamīndārs*, but such an arrangement could only be temporary and informal. The Emperor, at least in theory, could grant the rights of collecting the rents, managing the waste lands, and so on, to anyone he liked. For the sake of peace and quietness the English gave the Majumdārs Rs. 1,300. If the Majumdārs had had any legal claim to the land, they certainly would not have parted with it for so small a sum.

[2] The *bai'-nāmah* was brought to my notice and this translation made for me by Mr. W. Irvine. The effect of the deed is clear. It transfers to the English Company the so-called *zamīndāri* rights in the three townships. See above extract 15. Mr. A. K. Ray, in his *Short History of Calcutta*, pp. 10 and 22, quoted above, has put forward a very different and, as it seems to me, quite impossible view of the transaction—a view which contradicts itself, and is opposed at once to Muhammadan revenue theory and to recorded facts.

[3] The names which follow are the names of descendants of Lakshmīkānta Mazumdār. The pedigree is given by A. K. Ray in *op. cit.*

[4] Munohar Dat probably is a mistake for Manohar Deo. In the pedigree Manohardeva is the son of Vasudeva, who is the son of Raghudeva, who was the son of Jagadīś, who was the son of Rāmarāi, who was the son of Lakshmīkānta.

[5] i.e., Jagadīś, the grandson of Lakshmīkānta, as above.

[6] Kuleśvara, the son of Keśavarāma, son of Śrīmanta, son of Gaurirāi, son of Lakshmīkānta.

[7] i.e., Gaurirāi, the son of Lakshmīkānta, as above.

[8] The blank probably stands for 'ditto,' Gandharva being the son of Gaurirāi, the son of Lakshmīkānta, as above.

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that we conjointly have sold and made a true and legal conveyance of the village Ḍihī Kalkatah, and Sutaluti within the jurisdiction of *parganah* Amirābād and village Gobindpur under the jurisdiction of *parganahs* Paeqaṅ and Kalkatah, to the English Company with rents and uncultivated lands and ponds and groves and rights over fishing and woodlands and dues from resident artisans, together with the lands appertaining thereto, bounded by the accustomed notorious and usual boundaries, the same being owned and possessed by us (up to this time the thing sold being in fact and in law free from adverse rights or litigation forming a prohibition to a valid sale and transfer) in exchange for the sum of one thousand and three hundred rupees, current coin of this time, including all rights and appurtenances thereof, internal and external; and the said purchase money has been transferred to our possession from the possession of the said purchaser and we have made over the aforesaid purchased thing to him and have excluded from this agreement all false claims, and we have become absolute guarantors that if by chance any person entitled to the aforesaid boundaries should come forward, the defence thereof is incumbent upon us; and henceforth neither we nor our representatives absolutely and entirely, in no manner whatsoever, shall lay claim to the aforesaid boundaries, nor shall the charge of any litigation fall upon the English Company. For these reasons we have caused to be written and have delivered these few sentences that when need arises they may be evidence. Written on the 15th of the month Jamādī I in Hijri year 1110, equivalent to the 44th year of the reign full of glory and prosperity.[1]

40. A Powder-room to be Built of Brick just without the Factory.[2]

Extract from Chutanutte Diary and Consultations, February 9, 1699. *Factory Records, Calcutta, No.* 3.

The Powder for want of better Convenience having been kept for these two years in the rarity roome above the Godown, by which reason that and another fair Room by it becomes useless,

[1] The date is equivalent to November 9, 1698.

[2] On February 1, 1699, Charles Eyre made over charge of the agency at Calcutta to John Beard.

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and there being just without the ffactory under the Command of our Guns on the Point[1] a brick place which was formerly made for powder, but 'tis exceeding damp and Spoyles all the Powder whilst it lyes on the Ground Tarrase but in case an upper Room be built thereon with a small charge, twill secure the Powder very well, and give us the Advantage of having the use of the aforementioned Roomes for the Right Honourable Companys Service,

AGREED that the Charges Generall Keeper be Ordered to build the same, and to Stop up one of the Godown Varando's to make it a convenient Godown Room for to put fflint ware &c[a] apart, by which the Right Honourable Companys Servants upon their return from the Subordinations may have their Lodging Roomes againe which were filled with fflint ware and Armenian Goods also severall other necessary Conveniences are Ordered to be built with brick which is lasting the Right Honourable Company having been at a vast Charge by building with Mudd, and thatch which is removed, pulled down a totall loss to their Honours estate.

41. A FIRM SETTLEMENT MADE IN CALCUTTA.

Extract from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Chuttanutte, February 22, 1699. *O.C., No.* 6,617.

We have gained the Princes Neshaan for a firme Settlement in this place with the rent of three towns which will be a revenue sufficient to bare the Charge of the Garrison &c[a].

42. FURTHER MINOR IMPROVEMENTS IN 1699.

Extracts from Chutanutte Diary and Consultations, March 6, *June* 8 *September* 28, *and October* 16, 1699. *Factory Records, Calcutta, No.* 3.

Sand ballast not to be flung into the river.

March 6, 1698-99.—The Pylotts of the River, advising us that one main reason why the road of Chutanutte at present is so Shallow, and almost Spoilt is the Masters of Particular Shipping, flinging their Ballast of their Shipps and Vessells over board into the River,

Wherefore Its AGREED that all Masters of Shipping are Appointed to bring their Ballast on Shoar, which is Generally

[1] The point is apparently the south-eastern bastion of the completed fort, the powder magazine lying east of the burying ground.

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Sand and to fling it above the Bank of the River from whence all the Inhabitants may convey it away as their Occasions Require, by which means the Road will be cleared and the ways in the town amended, by Strowing sand in those muddy places where people can hardly have Passage in the Rainy Season. And that none may plead Ignorance, We Require the Secretary to put this Order up, in Severall Publick places in the Town for their Information.

Timber provided for the factory.

June 8.—Having Occasion for Timbers to goe on with building the Factory According to the Right Honourable Companys Orders

AGREED that the Charges Generall Keeper provides a 1000 Timbers from Jessore and 2 or 300 Good large Timbers from Seergur[1] Against the Raynes are Over, that we may goe on with the work with all Expedition.

A tank to the north of the factory filled up.

September 28.—There being a large Tank near the Passage way coming to the Northward of the ffactory which is very Offensive

AGREED that it be filled up and that the Dirt be taken from the other side Just before the Wall of Edward Tenches house that there may be noe Passage thither, Understanding Sir Edward Littleton hath either bought said house or given Edward Tench an Obligation to make good to him the value thereof.

Landmarks set up.

October 16.—To prevent any disputes that may futurely happen between the Right Honourable Company and the Jemmidars next us about the Ground granted us by the Prince,

AGREED that there be Piramides made of Brick and Mudd at the Northward Southward and Eastward side of the ffactory and Covered with Chunam[2] for landmarks.

[1] There is a Shergarh in the Shāhabād district, twenty miles south-west of Sāsserām, but probably some other place is intended here. Perhaps it is a mistake for Sherpur, in the Bogra district. See above, extract 13.

[2] Prepared lime.

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43. Additional Fortifications Sanctioned.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, November 21, 1699. *Paragraph* 5. *Letter Book No.* 10.

Your Present to the Prince was very considerable and made a large hole in our Cash, but since you were necessitated thereunto you did well to take that advantage for getting his Grant of the two Towns of Chuttanuttee and Gobinpore as well as Calcutta at the Annuall rent of one Thousand two hundred Rupees,[1] We shall now expect to see an Instance of your Zeal and Skill for our Service by the Advancement of our Revenues there, well knowing that due Care and a kind Treatment of the Natives will make those Towns flourish under the mild Government of the English, Besides which you may goe on now in making any necessary Additionall Strength to our ffortification without fear of giving Umbrage to the Moors, because they cant pretend to make an inquisition in a Place where they have nothing to do withall.

44. Bengal declared a Presidency, and the Fort named Fort William. Reconsideration of the Fortifications.

Extracts from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, December 20, 1699. *Paragraphs* 1, 2, 16, 17, 45, *and* 47. *Letter Book No.* 10.

We think fitt to acquaint you, That our Agent Mr. Eyres having arrived in the *Tavistock*, and finding our Affairs opposed by those who call themselves a New Company erected by Act of Parliament of which you have ere now received a full Account and the Instruments made use of by that Company, being persons that got their Bread and had their rise in our Service particularly Sir Edward Littleton sent out to manage their Affairs in the Bay of Bengall, Our said Agent having now recovered a good state of health, has (out of a just but unusuall Gratitude) offered his Service to return again to the Bay, not doubting, but by the Assistance of you our Councill, to maintaine and encrease our

[1] In the *parwāna* of the *diwān* 'Izzat Khān, dated Sha'bān 2, in the forty-second year (British Museum Additional MSS., 24,039, No. 36), the annual rent is given as Rs. 1,194 14 11. In the Bengal Public Consultations, May 4, 1714, the annual rent is stated to be Rs. 1,281 6 9. The increase is in the rent of Govindpūr in Paiqan.

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Interest and Reputation in those parts, and that We may have good and profitable Returnes of those large Effects We have already sent, and shall continue to send you.

The Consideration of the Great Investments made yearly in Bengall, Our being now possessed of a strong ffortification and large Tract of Land and prospect from thence of raising a considerable Revenue in due time and of your having been made independant of our other ffactoryes hath inclined Us to declare Bengall a Presidency, And We have Constituted our said Agent (on whom his Majesty has been pleased to confer the honour of Knighthood) to be our President there and Governour of our ffort &c^{a}. which we call ffort William, And We must assure Mr. Beard, that we have had great Consideration in making this Constitution, that it may not in any wise lessen the good Opinion We have of him or tend in the least to his discouragement, And We say further, That no other Occasion than Sir Charles Eyres desiring to return to the Bay of Bengall in our Service could or hereafter shall prevail with Us to send any Person above our good and faithfull Servant Mr. Beard, All which considered, We doubt not, but there will be continued that good understanding and Correspondence, which hath alwayes been betwixt our President and him in the prosecution of our Interest, and that We might show how well We are satisfyed with his Service, and that Sir Charles Eyres return to Bengall again may not prove to Mr. Beards prejudice We have resolved to continue his present Salary of two hundred pounds, and one hundred pounds Gratuity per Annum, which being promised, We shall now go on to take Notice of your said Letters, beginning with that of the 29th January 1698-99. . . .

We observe the force of your reasoning in defence of your present ffortifications without making any further Additions thereunto according to our repeated Orders for making them regular and impregnable, And as to the Expences necessary for that purpose we approve of your care of good Husbandry, but you may see We are willing to pass by that to make you secure, We hope your ffears of the Moors Jealousy are not so well grounded as you seem to apprehend, however to let you know our Minds fully in a word keep what you have, and do better when you can.

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The Account you give us of your Behaviour with Relation to the Government and the Rebell Jemidar during the Rebellion is very satisfactory you will see our Minds in former Letters, We desire to follow Our Trade and mind our busyness, and doe never want a fort, but only as it may prove a safe Retreat from Threatened Danger a Security against open Violence, or to make our Servants put on such a face of Power as to discourage every Upstart Neighbouring Governour from daring to affront them.

We refer you to the Instructions for our Opinion and direction touching the raising our Revenue to defray our Charge, and very well approve of the beginning made in Settling the Ground rents within your district we entirely agree with you that the benefit of our Protection will make the Inhabitants easily consent to our Taxations. . . .

We take notice of your Desires to rebuild the ffactory and the reasons inducing you thereunto, and are entirely disposed to grant your Requests We have discoursed Mr. Eyres about it, and told him our Minds are fully bent to have ffort William made strong and regular, he seems to ffear such a ffort will give Umbrage to the Moors Governours, We say We are apprehensive of the Mogols death, and that Civill Wars are very likely to ensue and without a ffort well Strengthen'd, you and our Estates are in danger, and We are loth to expose either, as was done in the late War, But if a Regular ffortification will make the Moors suspicious, We apprehend you may do something, that may Answer the End pretty well in building your ffactory very Strong with Brick and Lime, and on occasion the Windows may serve for Port holes making the Main Timbers of the ffloors very substantiall fit to bear a great Gun, and the Corners of the ffactory may have each an Angle built as if design'd for Closets, but run out far enough to serve for fflankers to scour the Curtains or Sides of the ffactory in case of an Attack, and if the ffactory was made a Pentagon, It would be the most compleat ffigure now approved of in Europe for ffortifications, touching all which We have discoursed Mr. Eyres, and shown him our Meaning in a small Plan drawn in Paper, and we hope to give him some such Plans along with him for your Direction, In a Word do all you can to Answer our Meaning and

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strengthen your Selves, whether by this way or building strong Points in proper places on Pretence of Warehouses, but indeed to serve for Additionall Stren[g]ths on Occasion.

45. Taxation and Revenue based upon Protection and Security.

Extract from Instructions from the Court to Sir Charles Eyre. London, December 20, 1699. *Letter Book No.* 10.

We having now at our great Cost and Charge obtained the Princes Grant of the two Towns of Chuttanuttee and Gobinpore as well as Calcutta We doubt not of your utmost Care and Industry for the advancement of our Revenues in those places. . . .

How far these [the various ways of raising the revenue at the Fort] may be feazably introduced at Calcutta We recommend to your serious thoughts, hoping you will apply your Mind studiously thereunto for our most advantage, You know we have been at great Charge in our ffortifications there, and are desirous You should omitt nothing which may make that ffort tenable and your Selves secure against any Attempts of the Moors and being so strong and able to afford Protection it necessarily Occurs, That the protected should pay an Acknowledgment to their Defenders; Protection being the true ffoundation on which all Pretences for raising Customs Subsidies and other Taxes are originally built, ffor this it is Tenants swear ffealty to their Lords, and All Subjects owe Allegiance to their Princes, and on this Ground, and to Reimburse Us our great Charge We recommend to you the raising a standing Revenue by the Methods above mentioned, or any other you shall observe more adapted to the Genius and Custome of the Inhabitants, well knowing that when they shall find the Impartiality and Mildness of the English Government, They will be easily induced to betake themselves to your Protection, and in a short time render the Territory within your late Grant the most fflourishing Spott of Ground in Bengall.

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46. Strengthen your Fortifications and Increase your Revenues without Delay.

Extracts from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, November 29, 1700. Paragraphs 30 and 38. Letter Book No. 10.

30. We have by every Shipping pressed you to make your ffortifications strong enough to discourage or sustaine any attempts of the Moors but in as private a Manner as you can and gave you very particular directions along with Sir Charles Eyre which we would not have putt off to what you may reckon a more convenient Season You cant be insensible the Mogull is daily drawing nearer his end which will very probably give birth to many Intestine Commotions before his Successor be quietly Settled in his Throne during which time all Rich Unfortified Places will be a tempting bait to those perfidious people The Jemidars late Rebellion is a pregnant Instance of the probability thereof But as we are willing to be at any Charge for your and our peoples Security within your bounds So we rely on you to turne every Stone to raise a Standing Revenue to bear it and in due time to pay us Interest for Our Money which that the Inhabitants may be enabled the more chearfully to contribute vnto we would have you encourage all People especially handicrafts to Reside there and Employ them in whatever they can make fitt for Europe although you give them rather more than others. . . .

38. You will Vnderstand by the Lists what Souldiers we send you this yeare which we expect you should keep up to a Strict Discipline nothing more conducing to preserve entire Obedience and in Consequence to Secure to you and Us Our ffortifications and Dominion in Bengall and as one proper meanes to that Purpose we would have you build within the ffort Convenient Lodgings or Barrocks for them to ly in every night we meane such as are not on Duty as Centinells this will prevent their Strowling about and hastening their Owne Deaths by Intemperance or the Natives Jealousyes and in Consequence by Introducing a regular Discipline in the Minority of your ffortifications will make you more feared and regarded by the neighbouring Moors who you must think will often be Observing your management do you what you can to prevent it.

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47. Arrival of a new *dīwān*. The Fort strong enough to prevent a Surprise.

Extracts from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William in Culcutta, January 8, 1702. *Paragraphs* 20 *and* 22. *O.C., No.* 7,820.

The Prince remains in Bengall still but we hope his oppressions may in some measure cease now there is a new Duan[1] arrived at Burdwan who hath the charecter of being a very honest Just man, very Severe and a great promoter of the Kings interest we have Sent a Vacqueell to compliment him on his arrivall at Burdwan with authentick copyes of all the priviledges granted your Honours by the King Princes Nabobs &c[a] and hope we may meet with little trouble from him though he is so nice in all his enquiryes that doubt we shall not escape Severall Disputes and therefore will write to the President and councill at Madrass to coyne as much of the Bengall stock as they conveniently can to Supply us yearly to goe on with the Investments.

Herewith comes a draught of the Garrison by which your Honours will see the Irregularrity of it occasion'd by those means which we advis'd by the *Anna* and may the better give orders how to have us proceed in fortifying the same tis now strong enough to Secure Your estates and Servants from any Surprize in case of a Revolution or Rebellion in the kingdome of Bengall or from any Seizure from the Government if orders should be issued out from the Mogull upon the account of the Piracy or any wicked designs of Sir William Norrice &c[a] Ministers of the new Company and we are also going on with a new house in the middle of the Compound. Your Revennues increase as your Honours may find by the accounts of the Revennues of your Towns and Buzzars and so do your Tenants every day and we move with all the caution immaginable to improve the same not to offend the Government

[1] Murshid Qulī Ja'far Khān. The date of Murshid Qulī's first appointment to Bengal is not certainly known, but it was previous to 1115 H., i.e., to May 6, 1703, and it would seem from this extract to be as early as the end of 1701. The *Ma'āṣiri-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 483, for the forty-eighth year, A.D. 1704, refers to him as 'Murshid Qulī Khān, governor of *ṣūbah* Orissa, and *dīwān* to the prince Muḥammad 'Aẓīm and of the *ṣūbah* of Bengal. He held the *manṣab* of 1,500 *ẕāt*, 1,000 horse, and in 1704 was promoted by the addition of 500 *ẕāt*, 100 horse. I am indebted to Mr. Irvine for these facts.

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and to prevent any of the Kings officers to be sent amongst your Honours Tenants for the administration of Justice which should they attempt to doe we must forcibly turn them out to the Hazzard of a generall Rupture in all affairs the present Duan being a Person that is so much for the Kings interest and Honour that small bribes will not alter any of his resolutions of writing to Court or farther proceedings.

48. The Prince put off with Fair Words.

Extract from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, Culcutta, February 4, 1702. *Paragraph* 11. *O.C., No.* 7,852.

AS TO THE GOVERNMENT.

The Prince is removeing his Camp from Rajahmaule—being order'd to reside at Dhaaca as Subah [*ṣūbahdār*][1] of Bengall having made the Emperour a present of thirty Laack of Rupees and a great summe amongst the Courtiers: He hath demanded a present of us againe this year to the amount of what he received the last, but we have put him off with fair words and hope to Escape this season whatever we doe the next.

49. Accomplished Mariners are Experts in Fortification.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, March 5, 1702. *Paragraphs* 50 *and* 51. *Letter Book No.* 10.

We are well pleased with your promises by all fair and gentle Methods to advance our Revenues not questioning but you will be as good as your word, and we shall grudge at no reasonable Charge you may be at in Strengthning your ffortifications you have Chinam [*Chūnām*] and brick enough and if you are not sufficiently instructed in forming them to a Pentagon or figure of 5 equall Sides and Angles, Scarce a Commander that Comes to you, but will instruct you therein and give you his opinion what is necessary to be done to make your buildings more commodious strong and tenable, ffortification being one part of the usuall Study of

[1] Governor. The English habitually write *ṣūbah*, which properly means government or province, for *ṣūbahdār*.

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accomplisht Marriners,[1] If their Stay is short that you can't compleat what they advise in that time let them draw you out a plan or Scheme on paper, and do you perfect it at leisure.

We did not apprehend you wanted a particular order to hoist the flag on your ffort in the same manner as is done at ffort St. George although we had sent one if it had not been casually forgott however pray dont fail of wearing it henceforward.

50. The English at Fort William refuse to give to every Little Rascal.

Extract from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William in Culcutta, August 15, 1702. *Paragraph* 3. *O.C., No.* 7,996.

The 30th day of March the Phousdar of Cassimbuzar put the Duans orders in Execution upon all the Europeans Viz. the Old and New English, French, and Dutch, but it came at a seasonable time the Right Honourable Company having not above five thousand rupees worth of goods in the house, but they were more favourable to Mr. Halsay &c[a] there then unto Mr. Bugden &c[a] at Rajahmaule keeping them only prisoners in the Factory; and Mr. George Redshaw &c[a] found Discreet means to secure the Right Honourable Companys Salt Petre at Patana in Merchants hands; the latter end of March the Phousdar at Hugley sent a Captain of his troops unto us, with Copy of the Kings Husbool-Hookum, and the Duans Order to put the same in Execution and desired our answer thereto, we found the design was to get money from us, but we resolved to part with nothing choosing rather to spend your Honours money in powder and Shott then to be always giving to every little Rascall, who thought he could do us injury, but the Kings Order was very Severe 'twas to seiz your Honours estates and our persons and a List of the same to be sent the King; The Dutch having effects at Cassimbuzar and Pattana not only brib'd the Government there (who took money and afterwards executed the Kings Orders Excepting a parcell of treasure they got clear from Cassimbuzar) but gave seven Thousand Rupees at Dhacca amongst the Prince his Mutsuddys, to make an Interest

[1] Bartholomew Plaisted, of whom we shall hear later on, illustrates this dictum.

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with the Prince; our Vacqueel desired a bill of Exchange for Eight Thousand Rupees to do the like, but we wrote him word we would not be at a Cowreys Charge, but put our selves in a good posture of defence, mounted severall Gunns round the Garrison, Entertained Eight or Ten Europe men more in the Gunners Crew, made up the Company of Souldiers, one hunder'd and twenty men, and resolved to make a Stout resistance, the Government hearing of our preparations made no attempt upon the place, altho' we were dayly Alarm'd with severall reports of forces comeing against us—The beginning of June the Prince finding all the Europeans had made preparations, and nothing was to be done by force, Order'd the Buxey [*bakhshi*][1] of Hugley to Vissit us, and to Assure us of his favour, how he had wrote to the King in our behalf &c[a], and indeed he is well Enough inclined towards us, knowing that his Coffers are fill'd with the treasure that comes from the Hatmens[2] Countreys; but the Duan is a Strict, precize man and will perform the Kings order to the utmost let what will be the consequence, However after this Vissit, our Dusticks have past all about the Government of Hugley.

51. A Mud Wall built Round the Burying-ground.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Culcutta, December 14, 1702. *Factory Records, Culcutta, No.* 4.

The Buriall place being only fenc'd by a Ditch great offence is given by the Hoggs often breaking over and other Inconveniencys AGREED that a Mudd wall four Cubits high be built round the same to prevent the like for the future.

52. The Flag hoisted at Fort William.

Extract from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, December 24, 1702. *Paragraphs* 31-33. *O.C., No.* 8,097.

Altho' your fortification here is not so regular as it ought to have been as your Honours will find by the plan sent home by Ship *Sidney*, yet we are strong enough to defend our selves and

[1] i.e., the military paymaster.

[2] Hatmen, i.e., Europeans, who wear hats. The phrase in the Persian historians is *kallah-poshān-i-Farang*.

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your Honours estate from any surprize from the Government but the troubles we have received puts your Honours to a larger expences, prevents trade and hinders goods comeing from aloft in the country.

The flag was hoisted the sixth of October in the same manner as is done at Fort St. George to the great sattisfaction of the inhabitants as your Honours may perceive more at large in our Diarys at that time.

There is no occasion for a banksaul at Kedgerre since your Honours shiping comes up the river.

53. Instructions for winding up the Old Company's Affairs.

Extracts from two General Letters from the Court to Bengal, both dated London, February 26, 1703. *Paragraphs* 19, 23, *from a letter to the Old Company, and* 41, *from a letter to the United Company. Letter Books Nos.* 10. *and* 12.

To the Old Company.—We are glad to read the Town encreases and therewith the Revenue, You must keep the Account of Revenues very private. It is enough Our Cash feels the benefit But it were better that Report rather made them much less than what they truly are, least the Prince be tempted to expect yearly Presents to let you enjoy them at Ease what ever presents you are forced to give after the said 22nd July ought to be deducted out of their amount and not paid by Us alone. . . .

If the New House you were about building in the Midle of the ffort was done before the 22nd July we must pay for it, if it was not we would have it forborn now till the Council for the United trade give order about it. . . .[1]

To the United Company.—We apprehend it will be best for our Service and the benefitt of the future trade, That you reside at Culcutta, and whereas the Fort there and all the Dead Stock both there and at Hugly and else where in the Bay is by the Deed of Union and Quinque partite Indenture to be vested in the English Company for the Interest of the United trade you are to declare and enter in your Consultation Book that you stand possessed of the same for that

[1] The new house was not finished till long afterwards.

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purpose and in prosecution thereof you are to have the Direction and Government of the said ffort and all other our Dead Stock in all places in the Bay and of all Affairs relating to the Civill and Millitary Government thereof with the Revenues of what else belongs to the said Dead Stock, however it is not intended that you should any ways abridge Mr. Beard of the respect which is due to him as President for the old Company nor to lessen his Authority as such but on the Contrary that you endeavour to Support his Character in such manner as may preserve his Authority with the Natives the better to enable him to prosecute the Old Companies Affairs to their utmost advantage in the gathering in their Debts and Effects and Settling all their Accompts and having the use of the Warehouses for their Separate Effects and to that end that he continue in his appartments in the ffort and that all other the Old and New Companys Servants have apartments Suitable to their Station. And what we have said with respect to Mr. Beard the like we would have done with respect to Sir Edward Littleton and the New Companies depending Affairs, That the Old Affairs of either Company may not in any manner Suffer by this present Establishment Each Company as you will see by the Deed of Union having mutually Covenanted to assist one another in their Affairs for the preserving and making the most of their respective Estates in all their Settlements in India which we require you to take notice of and observe we having thus ordered the matter not out of any disrespect to either of the Companys Presidents but only to avoid intermixing our Old Effects and preventing any Inconveniences.

54. Petty Improvements.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Culcutta, March 1, 1703. *Factory Records, Calcutta, No.* 4.

The Warehousekeeper reporting the Salt Petre-Godowns wants repair,

Order'd that the Charges Generall keeper get it done suddenly that the stormy season doth not do it more dammage;

The Warehousekeeper also reporting that there is a great loss yearly upon the weight of Wax drying very much plac't in the

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Warehouse above ground and wasts if put in holes to and fro in the compound,

AGREED that a pit be made in the Fort yard in a conveniant place with brick and a Wooden hatch over the same whereby the Wax will be kept moist and have Air also which is the properest way to keep that commodity and will prevent future dammage to the Right Honourable Company.

55. HOUSES, RENTS, AND LEASES.

Extracts from Calcutta Consultations. Culcutta, May 3. *June* 10, *July* 8 *and* 15, *and September* 6, 1703. *Factory Records, Calcutta, No.* 4.

May 3rd, 1703.—Severall inhabitants who pay Ground Rent to the Right Honourable Company for the compounds they live in desireing leaces for the ground as customary in other places,

AGREED that we write to the President and Councill in Fort St. George to send us the forme of leaces given there, how often renewed and what elce necessary about this Affair. . . .

June 10th, 1703.—Being advised that the Revenues of the Town were not so well look't after as was necessary Bannarse Seat [Vārānasī Seṭh] the Brokers Brother[1] was Order'd to Inspect the same in the room of Muda Metter [Madan Mitra] (Mr. Ravenhills Mutsuddy) and there was found one hundred Thirty and One houses and Two hundred Eighty and eight Beagees [*bīgāhs*][2] and three Cuttaes [*kaṭṭhās*][3] of ground more then was brought into the Monthly Accounts for which Neglect Mr. Ravenhill was sent for and repremanded and the Aprill Account deliver'd in by Bannarse Seat was Order'd to be past which is in better Method having more Particulars then Mr. Ravenhills Accounts tho' the Increase of the Revenues will not appear untill the May Account is deliver'd in which hath been wholly under Binnarse Seats inspection. . . .

July 8th, 1703.—Whereas there was formerly an Order made that no person whatsoever should make sale of any brick house or

[1] The Company's broker was Janārddana Seṭh, the eldest son of Kenarāma Seṭh. See my *English in Bengal*, I., 199.

[2] A *bīgāh*, or *bīghā*, is about one-third of an acre.

[3] A *kaṭṭhā* is one-twentieth of a *bīgāh*.

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any other house and compound above the Value of One hundred Rupees [without] adviseing the Governour of the place that the same might be taken notice of in a book of Regesters appointed for that purpose to prevent Sham Sales and abuses 'tis now thought conveniant to Order that no Mortgages whatsoever be made on any house without adviseing the Governour [for] the time being that it may be Regestered to prevent the frauds and abuses too often practized in these cases in many parts of the world and that notice thereof be made publique that no inhabitants may plead Ignorance. . . .

July 15th, 1703.—Mr. Ralph Sheldon demanding possession of George Crooks deceased his Town of Henry Moore he would not deliver up all the papers which were given by the Government for the Quiet possession of the same alledgeing that One of the papers were procured by himselfe at a great charge nor would he pay five years Rent due on the Towns amounting as per Contract to six hundred Rupees per Annum in all Three Thousand Rupees upon which said Henry Moore by Order, hath been confined in the Garrison about Thirty six days, and continues Obstinate, will not deliver the writeing nor pay the rent due and Now some of the Natives makes demands of him for a considerable sume of money and apprehending they will apply themselves to the Government, and give the Right Honourable Companys Affairs trouble,

AGREED upon Mr. Sheldons request that Henry Moors two houses in this place, One over against the North East point of the Garrison and his Interest in the other near the water side between Mr. Harris his house and the Occoons [*ākhūn's*][1] compound be Attach't for Sattisfaction of the five years Rent due to the Orphans of George Crooke for the Town till such time as Henry Moore will come to resonable composition and that the rent of said houses be paid unto the President and Councill to rest in the Companys Cash untill this business be decided between Mistress Lucie Pourier and Henry Moore. . . .[2]

[1] In these records *ākhūn* is used to mean apparently 'Persian secretary.'

[2] It is, of course, impossible to pronounce upon the merits of this case, but it may be noted that on March 7, 1711, Henry Moore was appointed assistant to the *zamīndār* or collector of Calcutta, in which capacity he served the Company faithfully for many years. On May 22, 1712, the Council restored to him his house and compound, which had been taken from him in 1703 at the request of Ralph Sheldon on

September 6th, 1703.—Severall of the English Inhabitants being willing to take Leases for ground rent having laid out considerable sumes of money in handsome buildings,

AGREED that we give them the same paying a years Rent in hand and Oblig'd to renew the same at the Term of Thirty One years as the ground rent shall Increase in Value paying a years rent in hand upon renewing the Lease.

56. A HUNDRED SOLDIERS REQUIRED FOR THE GARRISON.

Extract from Abstract of a General Letter from Bengal to the Court, January 20, 1704. *Paragaph* 7. *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K.* 77.

The Revenues of Fort William increase yearly hope they may maintain the Garrison when the ffort is better modelled it will require 100 Europe Soldiers—this force will keep Hughly Government in Awe and Prevent Ill designes upon them desire 15 or 20 fresh ones Yearly.

57. NO ROOM FOR LITTLETON IN THE FORT.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations, January 30, 1704. *Range I., Vol. I.*

The Honourable Sir Edward Littleton President for Affairs of the Honourable English Company trading to the East Indies, comeing up the river called here and being seated among us, and at the head of our Table was desired to chuse whether he would have an appartment provided for him within the Fort or elsewhere in the Town, He thinks that a house in the Town will be most convenient for him there being but few good Rooms finished in the New house within the Fort, Accordingly

AGREED that a house be hired in the town for him.

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the ground of a previous order by the Old Company's Council. Perhaps the order referred to, which could not be found in the diary of 1702, was the order contained in the present extract. In any case the action of the Council appears to have been precipitate and partial. How, it may be asked, did George Crooke come to have a town when the Company had forbidden all 'jemmidarring' by any English whatsoever? See extract 35, also my *English in Bengal*, II., 6 and 54.

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58. Progress in Calcutta during the Year 1704.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, February 16, *March* 22, 27, *and* 28, *April* 7, *July* 3 *and* 31, 1704. *India Office, Range I., No.* 1.

February 16th, 1704.—Timbers and Materialls being already provided were Sufficient to cover and finish the first flour of the New house

'Tis Agreed that part of the building be perfected if possible before the rain's sett in, the room's being very much wanted for the Accomodation of the Companys Servants.

Agreed that the Stables and other necessary out houses be enlarg'd as much as present necessity requires.

Order'd that Ninty Rupees be paid to the Prince his Jaggeerdar [*jāgīrdār*][1] being part of the rent of Revenue due at this time for the three towns Vizt. Calcutta, Govingpore and Chuttanuttee. . . .

March 22nd, 1704.—The Old Company[2] having sent money to buy Timbers since the 22nd July 1702 and now being Arrived they having no occasion for them Order'd that they be Offer'd to the Councill for the United trade for Sale which if they do not Accept of,

Agreed that they be disposed of in the Buzzar for as much as we can get. . . .

March 27th, 1704.—Mr. Benjamin Bowcher desireing a piece of ground to build a house on

Agreed that he have leave to build on the parcell of ground lying between the row of trees which stands from Mrs. Meverells house to the water side and Mr. Bowridge his ground. . . .

The ground granted to Mr. Benjamin Bowcher to build on is on the consideration that he is to build two goedowns of brick which he is to Lett out for the conveniency of Europe Shipping. . . .

March 28th, 1704.—Upon second enquiry about Timbers mention'd in the Last Consultation,[3] we find the Charges Generall Keeper provided the same for the Use of the Garrison since the 22nd July 1702 soe that the United Company ought to be Charged with the money, tho' it was paid out of the Old Companys Cash, and the hazard of the Timbers were on their Account wherefore

[1] i.e., the officer who received the rent of the *jāgīr* on behalf of the Prince.

[2] This extract comes from the Old Company's Consultations.

[3] The Consultation of March 22, this extract also coming from the Old Company's Consultations.

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'Tis AGREED that the said Timbers be deliver'd the Councill for the Managers and that the United Company be charged therewith. . . .

Aprill 7th, 1704.—Diary. Gave a Lease to Mr. Benjamin Bowcher for a parcell of ground lying between the Trees which stands from Mrs. Meverells house to the water side Containing One Begah and twelve Cottahs square the rent of which is four Rupees ten Annas, and six pice per Annum.

Gave a Lease to Mr. John Watts for a Parcell of ground lying between the portugeeze Church and the Lane to the Buzzar containing One Begah and ten Cottah square the rent of which is four Rupees eight Annas per Annum. . . .[1]

July 3rd, 1704.—Gave a lease to Jonathan Wiggens for thirteen Cottah of ground Rent one Rupee thirteen annas and three pie per annum dated 21st June 1704.

Gave a lease to Mr. Isaac Berkley dated this day for 3 Begah and five Cottah of ground the Rent 3 Rupees and 12 annas per annum. . . .

July 31st, 1704.—Jeatmull [Jītmal] Carowree [*karōṛī*][2] demanding fifty Rupees Seven Annas Sicca due to Bedar buxhes [Bēdār Bakht's][3] Jagere, on Account Revenues,

ORDERED it be paid to Ramnaut [Rāmanāth], the writer of the Towns, and that he pay to Jeatmull Carowrie taking the usuall Discharge for the same. . . .[4]

59. PRIVATE PERSONS ALLOWED TO MAKE CABLES ON THE COMPANY'S ROPEWALK.

Extract from Calcutta Consultations, September 30, 1704. *Factory Records, Calcutta, No.* 4.

The Honourable Company having made severall Utensills for makeing of Cables and a Bank Sall to put the Hemp or Coyre in

[1] These rents are calculated at the maximum rate, three rupees a *bīgāh*.

[2] *Karōṛī*, a collector of revenue; see H. M. Elliot, *Supplemental Glossary*, *s.v.*, croree.

[3] Bēdār Bakht was the son of A'zam Shāh and grandson of Aurangzīb. He was killed at the Battle of Jājū on June 10, 1707. See my *English in Bengal*, I., 174.

[4] Notices of payments of rent due to the *jāgīr* occur again and again in the records.

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&c[a] and severall private persons desireing the use thereof it hath been granted them but in consideration that the repair of the Banksall &c[a] is some charge to the Company,

ORDER'D that the Charges Generall keeper for the future receives two Rupees for every Cable that is permitted to be made on the Companys rope walk and bring the same to Account which will help bear the Charge thereof.

60. PRISON BURNT, TO BE REBUILT WITH BRICK.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, May 4, 1705.

The Catwalls [*kotwāl's*] house and Prison in the Buzzar[1] being burnt by Accident

ORDERED the same are rebuilt with Brick the charge not to exceed one hundred and fifty Rupees.

61. MORE LODGINGS REQUIRED FOR THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS.

Extract from Calcutta Consultations, September 5, 1705. *Factory Records, Calcutta, No.* 4.

Messrs. Samuell Feake and Jacob Loveday Companys Servants being destitute of Lodgings

AGREED that in consideration there is no rooms in the Factory (nor in President Beards house that is hired by the Company) Empty that the Charges Generall keeper Mr. Edward Pattle provide them with Convenient Lodgings.

62. CHAMBERS TO BE BUILT OVER THE NEW HOUSE.

Extract from Abstract of a General Letter from Fort William to the Court, November 30, 1705. *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K.* 77.

The Fortifications the same as last year intend to build Chambers over the New House.

Revenues Increase by the People flocking thither shall preserve and make the most of the Companys Priviledges.

[1] *Kotwāl*, police superintendent. The prison may be identified with the '*hariṇ bāṛī* jail.' See extracts 211 and 255.

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63. Instructions touching Fortifications, Buildings, and Revenues.

Extracts from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, January 18, 1706. *Paragraphs* 47-52 *and* 54. *Letter Book No.* 12.

It pleases us well to read the ffort is in so good a Condition and doubt not but it will be so preserved as to the Plan of it we say some of our Europe Commanders are doubtless able to give you their opinion wherein they think it may be strengthen'd by any additionall building because Gunnery and ffortification is part of the study of an ingenious Mariner Our aim is not to lay out the money necessary to make it a compleat ffortification sufficient to resist the Attacks of an European Enemy for we are not apprehensive of that danger but to make it tenable against the Moors in Case they should assault you especially if Civill Wars should as is very likely ensue on the Mogulls Death and we apprehend if you have but the reputation of being in a strong Garrison they will not easily venture to attack you However if you on good advice should see reason to be at some charge for any necessary additionall Works we permitt you so to do hoping this liberty will not be made use of without great reason and if it is yet with as much frugality as may be.

We are told you are about new building Culcutta and making it more regular if so we recommend to you to order the Streets so as that the ffort Guns may be brought to bear on the Severall Streets to beat out an Enemy that should gett into them and that the Houses may be at such a Distance from the ffort as not to prejudice any part of it in Case by accident or design they should be sett on fire.[1]

It is a pleasure to us to understand the Revenues encrease at Calcutta which is no wonder since you add the People increase there and though the Revenues dont yet we hope they may in time by a prudent mannagement be improv'd to pay the charge of ffort William Since we begun without taking Customs as at Madrass we are unwilling in its Infancy to check the Places growth by any innovation and the rather lest the neighbouring

[1] Yet the Council in Calcutta allowed the church to be built close against the east curtain, so as to completely command that part of the fort and render it altogether untenable.

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Jemidars envying your flourishing Estate should raise unjust Clamours against us to the Duan but in a few Years more when a longer quiet possession will enable us to plead prescription we shall think what additionall Dutys to lay, such as may be easy to the People and not create complaints and that we take no Custom is yet a further reason why we should take money for our Passes for Ships.

Although we have no reason to doubt yet we can't omitt here to recommend to you an impartiall administration of Justice to all your Inhabitants in the Three Townes and the Natives will soon see the difference between the mild English Government and the Arbitrary tyranny of the Moors.

You tell us you will endeavour to make the utmost penny of our Ground Rents Leases fines and other petty dutyes and we rely upon that promise and recommend to your consideration to take all prudent Methods you think will be effectuall for that purpose which you may soon come to the knowledge of by learning what dutyes are paid in other neighbouring Townes and Places and follow the like Methods in yours as to the manner but make them if you see fitt easyer as to the measure.

If the Moors should attempt to give you any trouble on account of misrepresentations to the Duan or otherwise you must show your faces to fortune and never suffer it, one bold prudent and resolute resistance at first will defeat their hopes and be an effectuall block in their way to prevent any future attempts of that kind.

When the house now building in the midle of the ffort is finisht advise us together with the charge of it and to what purpose it was built, we Suppose it is for the conveniency of lodgings and apartments for our Servants but you had don well to have told us for what it is design'd.

64. The Old Factory pulled down.

Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, April 18, 1706. *Range I., Vol. I.*

The old ffactory house having for severall years been decaying, and more especially of late with the great storms, has given way in severall places, insomuch that those Gentlemen that lye in it de-

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claring it dangerous to stay any longer there, We have had the Chief Carpenter and Bricklayer with severall others to survey it, whose opinions are that if it be not soon taken down it will fall of it self,

ORDERED therefore that Lodgings be prepared for the Gentlemen that Lay in it and that the house be pull'd down to prevent any Mischief that may happen.

65. ACCOUNT OF THE FORTIFICATIONS AND REVENUES IN 1706.

Extracts from Abstract of a General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, December 31, 1706. *Paragraphs* 56-58 *and* 60-63. *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K.* 77.

Shall make additionall works to ffort William to render it and the Towne Tenable which may be don at no great Charge. The Towne buildings encreased and the Streets regular that the Guns can bear on those near the ffort and the ffort Secured if the Town should be fired.

Revenues especially the Rent of the 3 Towns encrease yearly people flocking there to make the Neighbouring Jemidars envy them, think it is not the Companys Interest to take Custom there as at Madrass nor give more encouragement to enlarge the Townes, when have had them in quiet possession some time longer and the Government better Settled may then lay additional dutys that mayn't create Complaints. . . .

Do make the Most of Ground Rents fines and dutys and shall encrease them and yet make the Natives easy.

They keep themselves in a good posture of Defence against the Moors if they should attempt any thing nor will they suffer abuses or comply with unreasonable demands.

Shall advise the Charge when have built the upper rooms to their new house.

66. A COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO LOOK AFTER THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, February 10, 1707. *Range I., No.* 1.

The Church wanting to be finish'd, and having Stood Still for want of Reguler Proceedings

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ORDER'D, That Messrs. Edward Pattle, and John Maister, look after the Same, and See it Regularly built, and that all Subscriptions be paid into them and that they bring their Accounts Monthly for our Perusall.

67. NEW WATERSIDE BASTIONS.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, April 28, 1707. *Range I., Vol. I.*

The Emperour being dead and now being the properest time to Strengthen our ffort whilest there is an interregnum and no one likely to take notice of what wee are doing it is therefore

AGREED (haveing the Companys Permission in their Generall Letter of the 18th of January 1705 [1706][1] per *Hallifax* that we make two reguler Bastians to the Water Side to Answer those to the land, and the Buxey is Ordered to See it well perform'd out of hand, and to that end to take all materialls, in town, that are necessary thereto, that it may be quickly errected, for we may not meett with Such an Oppertunaty Again.

68. THE NORTH-WEST BASTION.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, May 15, 1707. *Range I., Vol. I.*

Having Occasion for one Third of President Beards Deceas'd his Compound to build the North West Bastion upon, and to keep the ffort clear from any building, and Since it will not be very much prejudice to the dwelling house and Warehouse, for which as well as the whole compound he has a Lease for 31 Years paying a quitt rent for the Same,

AGREED that the Trustees for Said house and Compound be Allow'd 300 rupees to repair the damages rebuild the Wall &c. and that what ground is taken Away So much quitt rent as in proportion to the whole be deducted out of the Yearly payment.

[1] See extract 63 above.

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69. Survey and Regulation of the Land in the Three Towns.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, June 12 *and* 16, 1707.

June 12.—The Three Towns and Buzar haveing been ordered in July 1705 to be measured and the revenues inspected into, which has not been compleated till now and being ended and the Account lay'd before us there is found to be great Irregularities and a Considerable wrong done the Company many not paying for half the ground they possess; wee therefore do think it equitable according to the Custom of the Country and agreed that the Inhabited, tilled or manured land or such ground as any one possesses do anually pay the following Rents inserted in next this Consultation and that the rent gatherer or Jemidar do give each Inhabitant a Putta [*paṭṭa*] or Tickett with a No. affixed to it, for the certaine Summe he shall anually pay and what receiv'd in monthly to be endorsed on Said Tickett and the Ticket to be renewed once every year for which Putta or Ticket the Tenants are to pay the Company as formerly only those which have allready had Tickets are to have them gratis and those Tenants that pay under two Rupees per annum rent only to pay the half and the rent gatherer is to keep a book on purpose where he must duly enter each Ticket by which means the Company may have a true knowledge of what revenues they are to receive and the tenants know Justly what they are to pay by this Inspection with a due Performance wee judge by Calculation the Company may be gainers Rupees for the first year and more as the Towne encreases in Inhabitants, the encrease or decrease of which the Rent gatherer is yearly to give into the Councill that nothing may be omitted to encrease the revenues fairly.

The Putwarrys [*paṭwarīs*] or black rent gatherers &c[a] are found to have taken Clandestinly considerable quantities of Land and farmed it out notwithstanding they receive monthly wages from the Company agreed therefore that all such land be taken from them or any other black officer and farmed out for the Company and that the Putwarrys be accounted with for the time they have possest it, and for the future deterring of all such or other officers

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from defrauding the Company agreed they are turned out of the Companys Service at a Convenient time and first to begin with them to turne out Saumdass [Śyāmdās] and the Sootah Lutah putwarry and the like to be done to any other black officers that may have in any manner defrauded the Company and for a due regulation of the black servants in the Town's the rent gatherer is ordered to inspect narrowly that no Superfluous Person be kept allso for encouragement of black rent gatherers tis ordered that each putwarry have his wages encreased to four rupees per month.

June 16, 1707.—Account of Ground in Buzzar and three towns as it was last measured Viz[t]

Buzzar.[1]				Govenpore.			
Houses	401	10¾		Houses	57	9	
Wells	15	3½		Paddee	510	11	
Plantins	9	4¾		Green trade	35	14	
Sunaporra [*śūnya porā*][2]	0	3		Beatle		2	
Ditches	3	12		Tobacco	139	16	
Gardens	19	3		Gardens	59	2	
Flowers		6		Plantins	12	3	
Cotton		3		Bamboos	4	10	
Green trade		10		Grass	18		
Tobacco		11		Wells	10	3	
Sursah [*sarshyā*][3] ...		17		Tancks		9	
			Beg[a] Cott[a]	Ditches...	1	6	
			458 4	Commer [*khamar*][5] ...	17	9	Beg[a] Cott[a]
Bammons [*Brāhmans*],[4] etc.	26	8¾					866 14
Wells		13		Bammons, etc. ...	57	16	
Sunahpurah	1			Jungall	83	14	
Ditches...	1			Wast ground	169	12	
Gardens		17					311 13
			30 5¾				1178 7
			488 9¾				

[1] i.e., bāzār Calcutta as distinguished from *ḍihī* or town Calcutta. Bāzār Calcutta, which corresponds roughly to the present *baṛa bāzār*, was and is the most populous part of Calcutta.

[2] Land lying waste.

[3] Mustard.

[4] Land occupied by Brāhmans.

[5] Land originally waste, but which, having been brought into cultivation, is not leased out for a money rent.

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Town Calcutta.				Rs.	
Houses		248	6	3 and	2
Paddee		484	17		1 12
Plantins		169	18	and	2 8
Green trade		77	18	and	2 4
Tobacco		38	7	and	2 12
Cotton		19	15	and	1 12
Gardens		70	1	and	2
Grass		15	9	and	4
Bamboos		1	16	and	3 12
fflowers		6	2		1 4
Ditches			9	to pay into the grounds measure	
Assah [*āus*][1]		11	9	Beg[a] Cott[a]	1 12
Commer		72	10		
				1216	17
Bammons, &c[a]		109	15		
Jungall		363	15	to be brought to Acct. as inhabited	
Wast ground		27	3		
				500	13
				1717	10

Soota Loota.					
Houses		134	4		
Assah		2	6		
Paddee		515	6		
Green trade		32	19		
Plantins		60	7		
Gardens		147	7		
Tobacco		8	6		
Sugar canes			11	at 3 rs.	
Bamboos		1	1		
Grass		11	16		
Null[2]			18	at 3 14	
Cotton		14	7		
fflowers		2	17		
Sunapurah		2			
Reeds for matts			4		
Ditches		10	19		
Commer		76	14	Beg[a] Cott[a]	1022 2
Tancks and ways		72	6		
Jungall		487	1		
Bommons		111	3		
					670 10
					1692 12

70. The Seṭh's Garden.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, September 11, 1707. *Range I., Vol. I.*

In Consideration that Jonnudun Seat and Gopaul Seat Jaddoo Seat Bonnarsyseat and Jaykissen[3] will keep in repair the high way between the ffort and land mark to the Norward[4] on the back Side of the Town we have thought fitt to abate them Eight anoes in a Begah of their Guarden rent which is about 55 rupees in the whole less then was ordered in Consultation the 12th June last and they being possessed of this Ground which they made into Guardens before we had possession of the Towns and being the Companys Merchants and Inhabitants of the place.

[1] Early rice.

[2] Probably *nal*—a reed.

[3] Janārddana Seṭh, Gopāla Seṭh, 'Yadu Seṭh, Vārānasī Seṭh, and Jaikṛishṇa, descendants of Mukuṇdarāma Seṭh, who settled at Govindpur in the sixteenth century. See my *English in Bengal*, I., 135 and 199.

[4] The present Chitpur Road, which the Company's broker, Janārddana Seṭh, planted with trees. Compare extract 73, paragraph 37.

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71. Building the Hospital.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, October 16, 1707. Range I., Vol. I.

Haveing abundance of our Soldiers and Seamen Yearly Sick and this year more particularly our Soldiers, and the Doctors representing to us, that for want of an Hospitall or Convenient Lodging for them is mostly the occasion of their Sickness, and Such a place will be highly necessary as well for the Garrison and Sloops as the Companys Charterparty Shipping to keep the men in health,

Tis therefore AGREED that a Convenient spot of ground near the ffort be pitcht upon to build an Hospitall on, and that the Casheirs pay out of the Companys Cash for the said occasion, towards perfecting it, the Summe of two thousand Current Rupees and what more may be gathered in by Subscriptions from the Commanders of the Europe and Country Shipping and the Inhabitants which is to be forwarded and gathered in by Mr. Abraham Addams who is to look after the building the same under the direction of the Councill.

72. Account of Fortifications and Revenues in 1707.

Extract from Abstract of a General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, December 24, 1707. Paragraphs 36-39. Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K. 77.

Two regular Bastions made to the River side can mount a Cannon on each but have not least should Alarm the Government have clear'd more room about the ffort design to Case the 2 inland Bastions to make them more regular and Strong then the fort will be tenable against the Moors.

The Revenues are encreased 4000 rupees a year as per Consultation 12th June and are paid the nett Amount into Cash Copy of the last years enclosed.

Shall be carefull to collect the Revenues in the Countrey Method and not molest the Inhabitants, but taking Customs not feasible it will cause too heavy Complaints, the trade at Calcutta causes murmurings already among the Moors Officers. They encreased their Souldiers on the Kings death and entertained

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Severall Countrey Gunmen for the out guard to the towns which are yet continued till see how the new Duan will Carry it hope the Company will approve what has been expended in regulating the fort &c[a].

73. Suggestions for the Further Strengthening of Calcutta.

Extracts from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, April 7, 1708. Paragraphs 36-50 and 55. Letter Book No. 13.

36. We have discours'd with Mr. Winder[1] touching our ffort William and the Three towns and upon his representation to us that the thing is feasible we are willing that you should among other things to be don for the further Strengthening of the Place make a large Ditch round Culcutta in such manner as you shall be advised is best.

37. He proposes that a Strong Wall should be built at the End of De Culcutta town between that and Chuttanuttee with one Gate to go in and out at which may have a redoubt or Small ffortification near it to beat off any Enemy that should attempt to force their way through it and at the End of that Wall to the Land Side there should be cut a Ditch of 16 or 18 foot broad and 12 foot or more deep which should run from thence round Calcutta town[2] but within the walk of trees planted by the Broker[3] that it should also come within the Garden[4] and so run down by the Burying Place[5] and there fall into the River and that

[1] This is doubtless Jonathan Winder, the third son of John and Mary Winder of Lorton, born about 1669. He came to India in the service of the English East India Company, and was taken into the United Company's service at the beginning of 1704. On February 2 he was appointed third in the Council of the United Company at Fort William, and placed in charge of the accounts. On September 24, 1706, after much dispute, it was settled that Winder should be chairman of the United Council for the English Company. In 1707 he returned on the *Halifax* to England. (O.C. No. 8484.) Here in 1709 he purchased for £2,350 the manor lordship of Newberries, *alias* Bones Bushes, in Aldenham, Herts. His will is dated 1717. See a paper by Mr. F. A. Winder on the *Winders of Lorton* in Vol. XIV. of the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*; also my *English in Bengal*, Vol. I.

[2] The ditch roughly follows the line of the palisades put up in 1747.

[3] The trees were planted along what is now the Chitpur Road. See extract 90.

[4] The present Dalhousie Square. [5] The present St. John's Churchyard.

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the Ground being low thereabouts such a Ditch would be the easier made and thereby the Neighbouring ground and the Town would be kept dry and free from the soking of the Rains which as the ground now is lyes so long upon it That it is scarce well dry'd before the next rains come and thereby the Place is the more unhealthy.

38. That this Ditch will contain about 2000 yards in the whole length and that the Earth taken out of it would fill up the lower parts of the ground thereabouts that the Water should not ly and Stagnate there but might be made with a Shoot or a little Slope So as to carry the rain into the Ditch as our Ground in London Streets from which the Water runs into the Kennell with ease and is so conveyed to the Common Sewer That proper Drains might be made to run under ground Archt and built with Brick like our Common Sewers to carry away the Water from the ffort and Town into the Ditch which would discharge itself from thence into the River.[1]

39. That this Ditch should have one Drawbridge over it just opposite to the ffort[2] and the Drawbridge have a Redoubt made near it to defend it in case of an Attack by an Enemy.

40. And that it should have a Sluyce at the End of it where it emptys it self into the River so as to preserve the Water in it and keep it full when necessary which he says may be so made that the Tide may be let into it every day to cleanse it and keep it sweet and run out again when necessary[3] and that proper Works be made at the mouth of it where it vents it self into the River to prevent the River Water from Gullying and washing away the Ground.

41. That the Merchants and other Inhabitants are so sensible of the Security and benefitt of such a Ditch That they would be at half the charge of it and offer'd it to him before he came away.[4]

42. He further proposes That there should be a Wharf or Key made before the ffort on the Bank of the River and that all the Boats who bring goods out of the Country on Dusticks and all

[1] It must be remembered that the river bank is the highest part of Calcutta, and that the natural slope of the ground is from the river eastwards.

[2] Perhaps at Lāl Bāzār opposite the east gate of the fort.

[3] In the modern drainage system of Calcutta an attempt has been made to use the tide to flush the sewers, but without much success.

[4] The digging of the Marāṭhā ditch in 1742 illustrates this point.

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other Boats should be obliged to land there by which means there would be the less opportunity given of bringing in any Clandestinely and that whatever goods are taken landing in any other Place should be deem'd as goods run and uncustom'd and forfeited.

43. His reason for building the Wall beforementiond is that the River running with a rapid Stream against Radnagar point,[1] if a Ditch should be made there from the Water Side it might weaken the Bank and in Process of time overflow the Place especially during the rains.

44. Having told you what he proposes we come now to give you our Opinion and Direction and That is That we would not grudge any reasonable Charge to make our Territory there safe defensible and healthy and if you find that a Ditch will answer the Ends before propos'd we would have you set about it Mr. Winder says the ffrench have a very skillfull Engineer in their Service that has been employ'd by you in Severall businesses and that would be willing to earn mony for the ffrench have little business of their own to do if so and you do find him or any other Person able to perform such a business we give you leave to sett instantly about it or so soon as with convenience you can and get hands Sufficient to compleat it Speedily and though you may pretend it is only for draining the ground and making the Place more healthfull yet when it is doing take care it be so made as to render the Place defensible and as a proper ffortification to the Town whether the Sides of the Ditch shall be Wharfed with Wood or Brick to prevent their caving in we leave to your discretion as also how you will make drains to carry away the water into the Ditch from the ffort and Town.

45. When you have gotten the Inhabitants to contribute as far as you can towards the charge of it then tell them you will lay down the rest of the mony but expect they shall consent to some rate or duty which shall be establisht for that purpose as we doubt not but you know was don for building the Black town wall at Madrass, where the People paid the whole and what that duty shall be we leave to your discretion to reimburse our part of the charge which shall be Collected and when that is paid shall be

[1] The context shows that this is the point on the west bank of the river at which it is now crossed by the Haurah bridge. I cannot find the name in any map.

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afterwards apply'd towards repairing the said Ditch and works and for no other purpose.

46. As to the Wharf beforemention'd we entirely approve thereof and would have you unless you see good reason to the Contrary set about it and if it should be found inconvenient to the Inhabitants to have but one Wharf in so large a compass as from Chuttanutte [Sūtānuṭī] to Gobingpore [Govindpur] than you may Settle another where you judge best and confine all Persons who bring Goods by Water to land them at such Wharf and because it will be a charge to us to make the Wharfs establish the Duty to be paid for every Parcell landed there as is don in London for as we doubt not many of you know that we have here at our Water side Severall Wharfs which are called free Wharfs and no goods can be landed but at a free Wharf under a Penalty of forfeiture.

47. The Wharfs especially that before the ffort Gate we would have made so strong as that it may Secure the Bank from being eaten into by the River and also on occasion may have Cannon Planted on to defend your Selves or offend any Enemy that may attempt you by Water, and to have a good Key for laying goods on when landed or till they are Shipt off.

48. As to your ffort though the form of it is not regular the Curtains being too long yet since it is so we must be content and would not have it pull'd down to make it better But if you could make Additionall Works for its defence and among others to carry out the Points or Angles a little further so as to flank an Enemy that should come to attack you and also better to scour the Curtains if an Enemy should ly under them it would not be amiss this we offer to your consideration to be propos'd to a good Engineer if you shall be so fortunate to get one into your Service and do as you judge best But whatever shall be so done let it be managed with care and frugality and not a penny laid out but what is in your opinion really necessary for the Security of the Place.

49. We are satisfy'd with your Subscribing for us One thousand rupees towards building the Chappell and since you want Iron you should and we now direct that you do send to ffort St. George for what is necessary for the Windows or else-

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where about it if you have not already or dont receive any by these Ships.

50. We hear there are some English Mens Houses that stand in the way of the ffort Guns that they can't come to bear on all parts of the Town if an Enemy should get into it we are loth to order them to be pull'd down unless hereafter there should be an inevitable necessity for it but however from thence we must give you a Caution for the future that you suffer no Houses to be henceforward built that shall hinder the playing your Guns upon an Enemy.

55. We are informed That in Sir Charles Eyres time when a Rebell Jemidars forces were pursued by the Nabobs forces and they came into the Neighbourhood of our Towns Sir Charles did no more than sett up the English fflags at the utmost extents of our Libertyes and forbid the Jemidars People coming within our Bounds by which means the Nabobs Souldiers dispers'd them yet this was extraordinarly well taken by him and some favours granted the English We write this only to show you what was then don and from thence you may take a hint to lay hold of an opportunity whenever the forelock offers it self.

74. BUILDINGS IN 1708.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations, May 3, *September* 6, *and October* 4, 1708. *Range I., Vol. I.*

May 3.—Wee being in great want of a Warehouse to Sort the Silk in, as also for the Screwes to stand in,

AGREED that the Sorting Warehouse to the South be carried on to the point there being one Wall already the Charge will be but small and it will be a Strengthening to the fortification. . . .

September 6.—Captain Charles Perrin's house and Compound and house moveables being disposed of at Outcry the Ballance being 2822. 8. 5., ORDERED that Mr. Addams pay the same to Samuel Blount and that He gives Security that the money be forth coming when required. . . .

October 4.—Mr. Abraham Addams wanting money to defray the Charges Garrison and for finishing the Hospitall,

AGREED that five thousand Rupees be advanc'd him for those Services.

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75. The Saltpetre and Sorting Warehouses Rebuilt.

Extract from Abstract of a General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, November 6, 1708. Paragraph 21. Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K. 77.

Have Strengthened the ffort but not cased the 2 inland Bastions being forced to rebuild the Salt Petre Warehouse and a brick Warehouse for Bales and Sorting Raw Silk and fixing the Screws have thought best to have no thatcht or Matted houses in the fort for fear of fire, shall case the two inland Points.

76. Instructions from the Court touching Fortifications and Buildings.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, February 4, 1709. Paragraphs 37-40 and 42. Letter Book No. 13.

37. We wrote you last year at large touching our ffortifications wherein we gave you liberty to do what you thought best as to the Ditch propos'd to be round the Town we also gave you our directions about the making Wharfs the Revenues and other matters relating thereunto and to the three Townes which will give you a full prospect of our Intentions in Generall for the Security and defence of the Place what ever Brick or Stone Works you make we are content and do order that you make them of Pucker[1] Work that is with Jaggeree[2] and Chinam which we are assur'd will last a long time though the charge at first be the greater yet in Consequence it will prove the cheapest and whatever you do consider well of it at first before you set about it that so when it is compleated it may not be to be pulled downe again on account of some inconveniency or other attending it Our great care and which lyes at our heart is That in regard the greatest part of our Annuall Exportations are to the Bay our ffort there

[1] *Pakkā*, ripe, mature, hence substantial, permanent; contrasted with *kachchā*, raw. See *Hobson Jobson* s.v., cutcha and pucka.

[2] Jaggery, coarse brown sugar made from the sap of various plants. The word is another form of sugar from the Sanskrit *Sarkarā*, which became in Malay *chakkarā*, and in Portuguese *jagara* and *jagra*.

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may be Sufficiently Strengthen'd and made tenable against any attempts of the Moors though they should have any Europeans among them to direct them in their Assaults and therefore we say take all opportunityes to make it so but without noise and as Secretly as you can and be sure colour over your reall intentions by alledging that such a building is to keep out the floods or for Additionall Warehouses to preserve goods from fire or to keep the Walls from falling or any other such reasons as the Case requires which may be true in fact tho' they are not the whole truth.

38. Be sure remember to drain the grounds and fill up the Tanks if it be true as we believe it is which is told us that the Standing Water thereabouts contributes to the unhealthyness of the Place and Subjects People to Agues ffeavers and ffluxes and no wonder for it has the same effect in England in our low Marish grounds therefore do all you can to take away the Cause that the Effect may cease We are inform'd the greatest part of the Standing Water thereabouts is occasion'd by the Peoples digging the Earth to make their Houses with and then the next rains the Holes are fill'd with Water which there Stagnates and corrupts That the Natives rarely use any of that Water the River Supplys all their wants whether this be the whole of the Case or not we are not certain but this we say positively do whatever you think proper to make the Place healthy but with as little charge as may be.

39. We are told that when we or the Old Company in their time have earnestly recommended to their Head Servants abroad to take some New Methods for the advancement of the Companys Affaires or pursue with Vigour former directions the heads of those Settlements where the orders have been sent to have been so much at ease in their fortunes or in love with a Supine quietness that they would say it will do well enough as it is in my time let them that come after undertake it and have the trouble of it and this has been an unhappy remora[1] to the prosecution of former directions and thereby to the flourishing Condition of the Companyes Affaires which would have been the naturall Consequence of

[1] Delay, hindrance. See the *Stanford Dictionary of Anglicized Words and Phrases* by C. A. M. Fennell, p. 683 s.v. Cambridge, 1892.

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executing those Orders we hint this to you that it may not be so at ffort William but that our Council especially our Chiefs may be filled with a noble Ardour to out doe any of their Predecessors in advancing our Interest which will redound to their honour nor shall it want our notice and regard.

40. You had don well to have sent us a Plan of the two Bastions you had made to the River Side by your next send the same together with a Plan of the whole ffortifications and Buildings at Calcutta and the other Townes that we might have under our Consideration their Scituation and what we think to be further done for their Security.

42. The Entertaining the Gunmen for the Security of the Tennants in our Townes on the first news of the Kings Death we approve because you write us it was necessary we are glad it had the propos'd effect It is plain even to a demonstration to all that know any thing of the Moors tempers that a show of power is the best way to keep the English in India free from the Natives Insults and will most effectually keep off Piscashes the Consequence of most quarrells and that is one main aim we have in our so often recommending to you to Strengthen our ffortifications you may be sure the Moors have their Spies and if they find you alwayes on your guard and in a good posture of defence and your Carriage to them Civill and obliging they will be very unwilling to assault you and we doubt not that you will alwayes take care to give them no reasonable handle for quarrelling with you and also let them see you will neither give them any affronts nor sitt down tamely under any where it is in your power to do your Selves justice.

77. Account of the Buildings in 1708.

Extract from Abstract of a General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, February 18, 1709. *Paragraphs* 23-25. *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K.* 77.

The making a Ditch about Calcutta will make the place more healthy, the Government will suffer no more ffortifications, the ffrench Engineer dead, shall get one when they can and go about the Ditch and contrive it to Strengthen the place the Inhabitants will pay but a small part towards it Mr. Winder should have put

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them in a way to make the People pay half and have mentioned the other two Towns.

Shall build a Convenient Wharf.

Have built two New Bastions to the ffort shall line the other Two.

78. Improvements and Buildings in 1709.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, February 28 *and March* 8, 1709. *Range I., Vol. I.*

February 28.—The Company having given us Liberty and directions to make dreins and necessaries for the Fort and We having a Small Tank to the Eastward which in Some measure defends one Bastion and yields good water, when in the month of March and Aprill the river Water is Brackish; which being necessary to be enlarged and deepened to keep the Water good and constantly in it,

Agreed that Wee lengthen the Same what may be thought convenient and deepen what is made, So that the next Season at least We may reap the benefitt, and The Buxy is Ordered to pay the Charge and enter it under the head of dreins, also that He fill up with earth between the two Water side Bastions even with the earth of the said Bastions and throw rubbish ballast &c[a] to face it, which holds very well and answers the end. . . .

March 8.—The Warehouse We prize goods in being very much out of repair, The Timber Rotten and the Water in the raines falling down and damages the goods and the outward Wall of both Godowns being Cutcha [kachchā],

Agreed that We build that Pucka [*pakkā*] and repair the whole out of hand, that it may be fitt for Sorting goods the ensuing Season.

79. Account of Buildings and Fortifications in 1709.

Extracts from Abstracts of Two General Letters from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, December 19, 1709 (*paragraphs* 17-19), *and January* 8, 1709-10 (*paragraph* 10). *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K.* 77.

December 19, 1709.—17.—Are now casing the two inland Bastions which will Strengthen the Fort and are about making a Wharf next the River.

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18. The New house in the Fort finisht and the New Ware-house Screw house and place to Sort Silk are well done and will last Shall make a New gate way next the River to face the New house and then shall have done with building.

19. The great bank by the Fort finisht are filling up the Stinking holes which will make the Place healthy.

January 8, 1709-10.—10. The Government molesting them on account of Armenians and the Natives bringing Bales to Calcutta Some of which run the Customs intend to build a proper Ware-house with lodging rooms on it to put all Such goods in where the Proprietors Servants may watch them and an Officer to take account of all Shipt off and On what Ship which will Stop that Clamour making the Proprietors pay So much as in a year or two will reimburse the charge.

80. Instructions from the Court of Directors touching Fortifications, Buildings, and Revenues.

Extract from General Letter from the Court. London, January 9, 1710. *Paragraphs* 64-70. *Letter Book No.* 13.

64. We refer you to the two last Years as well as former Letters for what wrote on this Head which had you well attended to you would not we believe have wrote as in y^e^ 23^rd^ Paragraph of the Letter by the *Todington* That the Government will admitt no more Fortifications,[1] Sure you can find no thing in our Letters that looks as if we would have you acquaint them we intended the Ditch or Buildings should be Additional ffortifications to the place on the contrary we wrote you to colour over our reall design of making the place tenable against any Attempts of the Moors by alledging that the Ditch was to drain the Townes &c^a^ as you will find by reperusing those Letters, We have not so mean an opinion of your understandings as to doubt you can't give good and satis-factory reasons for these things and yet conceal our main intention and since we are willing to be at any reasonable charge therein So as what is laid out be done with good Husbandry not so much for our present benefitt as for the sake of our Successors don't you hesitate upon it but do what is necessary to make the place Healthy

[1] See extract 77 above.

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and Secure from any Insults of ye Natives whether Rebell Jemidars or others and then we shall have the greater inducement to lodge our Effects there for you to go to Markett with in the cheapest times of the year and get goods ready to freight our Shipping home with out Demorage.

65. Our reason for mentioning only Chuttanutte[1] was because we understand the Principall Native Merchants as well as our own People lived there and we were unwilling to put you on too much work at one time but when that is once done well as already directed and we have the account of it what time and charge was Spent therein you shall have our directions about Govinpore and Soota Loota in the interim send us your opinion.

66. The news of the ffrench Engineers death was never mention'd before now and our Ships are gotten below Gravesend if we can meet with a good Engineer here we will send him if not do you Employ the best man you can gett we hope by your next to hear you have made a good Progress in if not perfected ye Ditch the Wharf &ca ordered.

67. Send us as exactly as you can a Plan of the ffort wharf Ditch and Scituation of the other two Townes as well as that of Culcutta as we last year wrote you and be therein particular as to your opinion what is further wanting to answer our Intentions.

68. You are in the right to have no thatched or matted houses within the ffort and as you had occasion to build a Salt Petre Warehouse and another for Bales and Sortings which ye Natives must know are necessary and therefore can't take Umbrage at them So we hope you have made them so Substantiall and put them in such Places as may prove on occasion an Additionall Strength to the Place we have in former Letters directed That whatever building you make of Brick it be don of Pucker Work which though chargeable is cheapest on account of its duration.

69. We can see no reason why the Inhabitants should not contribute largely to the making the Ditch and the charge consequent thereupon since the thing is evidently for the health and cleanlyness as well as Security of the Place and expect you do by the

[1] This is a mistake for Calcutta. The Court refer to their letter of April 7, 1708, where they spoke of making a wall and a ditch round Calcutta town. See extract 93 above.

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most persuasive Arguments prevail on them to consent to a Duty to be settled and raised from the inhabitants for repaying us in time our present Charge and when that is satisfy'd for keeping y^e^ same in repair which we hope you will take care be Sufficient for the purpose.

70. Next to the well mannaging our Investments nothing can be more pleasing to us than the Cultivating and Improving our Revenues which we are glad to find do by your care and trouble yearly encrease and that you promise to use your utmost endeavour to increase them more The Methods we leave to your management and you can't want Examples from the Country Practice but whereas their Despotick Government gives no other reason but Will and Pleasure do you the thing but in the gentlest manner necessary and with the best reasons you can urge for it to make them easy and prevent Applications to the Durbar.

81. Instructions to Weltden.

Extract from Letter to President Captain Anthony Weltden. London, January 9, 1710. *Paragraphs* 15-17. *Letter Book No.* 13.

15. This leads us naturally to think of our ffortifications and what we have order'd thereupon you will see in our former Letters our desire is to make ffort William tenable against the Attacks of the Moors if either by the Intrigues of any Europeans or the hopes of booty they should be tempted to assault us and hope to prevail by any Europeans being among them to direct their Assaults and in Particular we would have a good Platform to the Seaward and well cover'd against an Attack that if any Ships should come to fire upon you, you might soon make them repent their undertaking nor would we be less carefull to secure our townes from being plunder'd by a Sudden Incursion or more open endeavour which will encourage the richer Natives to inhabit there but this as you will observe in our said Letters must be managed with the utmost Secrecy and what is done must be Colour'd over with one good reason or another that may be a fair pretence and give no Umbrage to the Moors It was our ffortifications at ffort S^t^ George that made the English there so considerable in the Eyes of the Natives and made them afraid to offer at those demands which in former times the Old Companyes Books show they extorted from them.

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16. We would have you on your arrivall in the Bay consider whether it be necessary for us to make a Dock there to clean and refitt our Ships upon occasion when if it be what would be the charge and whether it can be made so near ffort William as to be protected by it and what you think is a fitt duty to be paid by every Ship that makes use of it and also whether it be necessary for us to have another at Ballasore or up higher for such of our Ships as can't come up so high as Calcutta Consider also whether it be not convenient to have a good Hulk at ffort William to Careen by.

17. The Affair of our Townes and Revenues comes now properly to be thought of and touching these also we have wrote at large in our Letters which we desire you will seriously and deliberately read over consider and put in execution according to the full extent of our aims therein that so we may at length find them enough to reimburse our charge there we must not despise the day of small things but as we have begun by easy and gentle Methods which have every year made a progressive increase so we are sure by y^e^ Experience of ffort St. George that time and an hearty zealous and wise mannagement at ffort William will make the Revenues there reimburse our Annuall charge which is what would be well worth our Encouragement and we hope you will be frequently turning your thoughts how the same may be done by encreasing y^e^ Present when a fitt Season offers or creating New ones such as are least offensive and you cannot be long to seek if you will but inform your Self of the Methods of Madrass of the Moors in Bengall and of the Dutch at their Settlements and apply them as far as the Place will admitt and the Circumstances of time You have seen or heard what the Dutch wisely do in all Places where they get once footing and a ffortification they never give rest to their endeavours till they make the Place reimburse and maintain the charge.

82. A WHARF BEFORE THE FORT.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, February 9, 1710. Range I., Vol. II.

We have duly Consider'd the Company's Orders in relation to building a Wharf before the Fort, and find 'twill be a great

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Security to the Banks and a strengthning thereto, 'tis therefore

AGREED We Instantly Sett about it and make it with brick and raise a Breast Work to Plant Cannon there.

83. BARRACKS BUILT IN THE HOSPITAL.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, February 13, 1709-10. *Range I., Vol. II.*

There being a great many Europe Soldiers in the Garrison who if they lodge about the towne as Vsually will create sickness and other inconveniences to themselves and others therefore tis

AGREED the Hospitall be walled round and that Barricks be made in it for the Soldiers to lodge in and that some of the Officers doe likewise lodge there and see a good Decorum kept amongst them.

84. THE COURT PAY THIRTY GUINEAS FOR DRAUGHTS OF FORT WILLIAM.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, July 5, 1710. *Paragraph* 18. *Letter Book No.* 13.

Wee have paid to your late Gunner Roderick Price Thirty Guineas for Severall Draughts of ffort William and the ffortifications already made and what further propos'd to be made there which he says he deliver'd to Captain Weltden for our use wee suppose you will have them laid before you but if it should be forgotten do you desire Mr. Weltden to deliver them unto you.

85. CLEARING THE GROUND BEFORE THE FORT.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, August 17 *and September* 4, 1710. *Range I., Vol. II.*

August 17.—The ffort being very much choaked up and close sett with Trees and small country thatched houses and standing pools of stinking water which having maturely considered wee are of opinion that clearing Them away and filling the holes to levell the ground will contribute very much to The making the Town wholesome and healthfull.

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Therefore wee ORDER the Buxey to open the way directly before the ffort continuing The present walk allready made further into The open feild filling up all The holes and cutting small Trenches on each side to carry The water clear from the adjacent places into The large Draine.

September 4.—Mr. John Calvert Jemidar brought in an account charges of houses removed and pulled down to clear the new way now making amounting to 109 rupees 14 annas.

ORDERED The Buxey pay The same.

86. A HOUSE AND GARDEN PURCHASED.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, September 15, 1710. *Range I., Vol. II.*

Mr. James Love[1] lately deceased having had a Garden and small house which lyes very convenient for The Company's use, resolved wee purchase The same for The Company.

87. ACCOUNT OF THE FORTIFICATIONS IN 1700.

Extracts from Abstracts of a General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, October 16, 1710 (*paragraphs* 40-43), *and of President Weltden's Letter, December* 30, 1710, *and February* 13, 1710-11 (*paragraphs* 16, 17, 20). *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K.* 77.

October 16.—Shall go on with the Ditch and make it within the reach of the fort Gunns which will compass ground enough to secure the Inhabitants and Effects and make 3 passes over and contrive a Place to lay ships in who Stay there and make them pay for lying may contrive to keep water in it. Think it needless to enclose Govinpore and Sootaloota. The Wharf near compleated the 2 Ends will be pallisadoed, and a Gate to Shutt up a nights with Centinells to Secure all goods on the Wharf—shall send a Plan of all.

December 30, 1710, *and February* 13, 1710-11.—Shall make the fortifications defensible without alarming the Moors the wharf was raised ¾ the length of the fort before he arrived are finishing the ends with a half Moon at each to command the River which is 500 yards over with 20 Culverings, must carry a Strong bridge in

[1] James Love was for some time a member of council and *bakhshi*. He was displaced on the arrival of President Weltden. He died on September 2, 1710.

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the midle to be in 3 or 4 foot water at low water to work at all times shall make a Ditch 40 foot broad 12 deep to Secure the fort from Insults and to have 3 draw bridges the tide to flow in one end Palisadoed the other with a gate and to make a dock at the open end for ships to ly in the Ditch. to compass ground enough to secure the People and Effects of that town will not advise to do it for all the towns did the Place ly on the Sea as Madrass do's would make it as Strong.

To no Purpose to make a dry dock, it will not quit the Cost Nor will it to have a hulk the Same reason holds for Ballasore River can't receive a ship that draws above 12 foot.

The thickness of the trees in Culcutta being injurious to the health of the Place shall thin them and keep them in rows and cut away all Bamboos which the People are pleased with have made a Walk 4 Mile long to the lake, which will make the place healthy the ground levell'd and raised where necessary a ditch on each side to receive the water a black Souldier looks after every 30 Labourers so can't be cheated by them the work men do more in a day than used in two hope in 12 months more shall do what necessary if can make it healthfull will be very delightfull the guards patrolling a nights prevents the late violences. The Burglars are chain'd and forced to work for the Company since which have heard of no house being rob'd, will endeavour in all things the Companys advantage.

88. BUILDINGS IN 1711.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, March 22 and August 9, 1711. Range I., Vol. II.

March 22.—Some Godowns building by the Waterside which makes a Curtain from Point to Point begun by the late President Mr. Ant° Weltden

It is now AGREED that the Buxie continue and finish that work. . . .

August 9.—The Thatch house in the Honourable Companys Garden being very rotten was lately blown down to the Ground

ORDER'D that the Buxey do rebuild the same.

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89. Instructions from the Court touching Fortifications, Buildings, and Revenues.

Extracts from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, December 28, 1711. *Paragraphs* 75-81 *and* 110. *Letter Book No.* 14.

75. Wee have by the *Loyall Blisses* Packett received the Draught of the house at ffort William but no notice in the Generall Letter about it nor any account of its dimensions or figures of Reference to explain the Rooms or uses of it or give us any light therein and by the *King William* in the Box of books the Draught or Platt of our Ground and the Grounds adjacent with Part of the Lake wherein there are proper References and Explanations.

76. Wee should be glad to hear the works you were about were compleated the Wharf finisht and the breast work to defend it or rather a half Moon which on occasion might Command the River which is not there very broad and that a Strong bridge or causeway was made so as to work at all times of the Tide and whatever else is necessary for the defence usefulness and other profitable improvements of the Place as well for its healthfulness as advantage which now you have two Master Gunners may and wee hope will be more carefully and Speedily effected wherein you having had in former Letters our directions at large and a generall liberty to use your own discretions to Answer these our ends wee need add nothing further but to tell you do all with the least noise and urge plausible reasons for what you do if enquiry is made about it and in the Common talk among your selves be cautious of every thing that may give any Umbrage to the Natives who will soon know what you say.

77. Consider whether it be not necessary to make some little redoubts or other Proper defences to Secure the Drawbridges you make over the Ditch which you are making round the Town for the preservation of it from any Sudden insults of the Natives.

78. You will see in Copy of our Instructions to President Weltden which wee Sent you by the *Successe* wee desired him to consider whether a Dock ought to be made at or near Calcutta to clean and fitt our Ships in he says it is needless because of the Slowness of Ship work done there and that the Captains can

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Careen their Ships on the other Side the River and make a Dock for Two hundred and fifty Rupees in which they may ly all the Season But yet wee find in your Consultation of the 23rd June Mr. Blunt had a Piece of ground granted him paying ground Rent between Mr. Russells Warehouse and Dr. Warrens house to make a Dry Dock for the benefitt of Shipping how to reconcile these two is not wee think very easy If a good Dry Dock could be made and at such a Cost as wee might in a reasonable time be reimbursed wee should think it for our Service to have one Because thereby our Europe Ships might have all their defects throughly examined and repair'd a great deal of Money lost to them and us in the Dammage of our return'd goods Saved Their bottoms being clean and they might make their Voyages in less time which especially in time of Peace would be very advantagious to the Owner This wee dont determine any thing in but leave to your Consideration to send us your thoughts upon it with the reasons for your opinion and if it shall be for such a Dock then what will be the Cost and what wee ought to have per Ton for the use of it for a Spring and you shall have our finall orders Remember wee can easily oblige our own Ships to make use of it as you will see in our Charterpartys is don when the Company projected to have one at Bombay which the Warrs there and other troubles prevented.

79. Wee observe you propose a place in your intended Ditch to lay Ships in the time they must stay there for which you say they may afford to pay Two or Three Hundred Rupees each in Consideration of the Anchors and Cables they may save and wee add for the avoiding other hazards to which the Rapidity of that River always Subjects them especially in the freshes.

80. Wee are glad to hear that late mischievous evill of Burglary and other Robberys has an end put to it by the making all the felons you catch work in a Chain at our ffortifications and the Guards patrolling in the Night but sure such a Piece of Good News might have been permitted a Place in Your Generall Letter.[1]

81. It has been wrote us that ffort William lying in the Belly of the Countrey the Natives if in open hostility might Starve you out but wee know not how to think it since by lying on the Edge of

[1] See extract 87. The information is in Weltden's letter.

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the River you have that always open the Natives have no Maritime Strength and Provisions might be brought by Sea but to prevent this wee would have you always well stored with Rice &c^{a} Provisions for your own occasions as well as what is Annually required for ffort St. George and which you must send them as often as you can and as much as they write for But at the same time be very carefull that the Salt Provisions you provide be Good of their kind and well taken care of for wee hear some lately sent thither proved bad and was the greatest part of it forced to be thrown away of which you will hear more from Madrass.

110. Wee find in your Consultation You allow Mr. Cooke the Gunner Fifty Rupees per Month but not one word of it in your Letters which should not have been omitted there.

90. Fort William is Strong Enough, and will be made Stronger.

Extracts from Abstract of a General Letter from Fort William to the Court, January 7, 1711-12. Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K. 77.

58. Fort William is Strong enough against any attempts of the Natives, shall embrace opportunitys to make it Stronger.

59. Have fill'd up the Tanks and made the Ground about the Fort levell, shall fill up the dirty places to make the place more healthy which it is much more than lately.

60. Will be too chargeable to make a Ditch and bridges round the Town the Inhabitants are chiefly poor the Merchants that come to them don't live always with them.

61. The Ditches will fall in in the Rains as that by the Burying Place did unless cased with Brick which will be an immense charge.

91. Buildings in 1712.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, April 28, May 2 and 22, and October 3, 1712. Range I., Vol. II.

April 28.—The Honourable Company having Sent out a Bell for the use of the Church,

Agreed that the Buxie do build a Convenient handsome Place to hang it in over the Church Porch. . . .

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May 2.—The middle of the Banksall Yard having thatcht houses for Godowns for Navall Stores &c[a] which is very Inconvenient and dangerous on Account of fire,

AGREED we pull them down and build a Godown with Brick and Pucca for the Same. . . .

May 22.—The Steward wanting a Place to keep the Provisions for the Generall Table in, having no Conveniency And the Factory not being a Proper Place,

AGREED we look out for a Peice of ground a small distance from the Fort and that it be Enclosed with a Brick Wall. . . .

October 3.—There being in this Town a very large new Pucker brick built house with Warehouse &c[a] Necessarys Offices and a large Garden Cost Rupees 12,000 And Mr. James Williamson and Captain Hornett the Attorneys of Mr. March the Owner of Said House Offering it to sale for 6,000 Madrass Siccaes

AGREED that we Purchase it, being in great want of a Place to Entertain any of the Government when here.

92. ACCOUNT OF THE FORTIFICATIONS, BUILDINGS, AND REVENUES IN BENGAL IN 1712.

Extract from Abstracts of Letters from Bengal to the Court of Directors,[1] *December* 10, 1712. *Factory Records Misc., 7a. Paragraphs* 68-74.

68. Works about Ffort William are in great forwardness but not perfectly completed—the wharfe finished brest work on it not made—the strong bridge and crane at the end of it to work at all times of the tide near don. Within the walls remaine to be don—a little work on one of the Curtains to make a broad walk quite round the walls and a range of Lodgings to be rebuilt from the West to East Curtains which are now decayed and ready to fall —and a small part of the Curtain next the River built with mud which will be don with lime—then all will be compleat.

69. Reason for not building a ditch round the town.

70. Mr. Blunt's design to build a dry dock laid aside—why—not worth the Company's while to make.

[1] I found these abstracts among a series of papers in the India Office, which were then known as 'Correspondence Papers.' In the abstract of the 'Bay General, 8th February, 1712-13, received per *Kent*,' we have, '34. Map of the fort, etc., sent.' Compare the extracts which follow.

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71. if had made a ditch it would have past through a large tank which proposed to lay the ships in secure.

72. what don to prevent Burglarys and other Robberys which will not deter all the faulty to work in Chains.

73. on Shaw Allum's [Shāh 'Alam's] death laid in 25,000 maund of Rice & oth[r] grain to prevent scarcity thro' war it is now cheaper than half which occation'd a Loss therein Shall lay in stores sufficient for Fort William and St. George—last salt provisions sent thither proved good.

74. refer to Jemidar's account to prove the Encrease of Revenues—will take care to do it more but must do in the present method which is what the Jemidars round them do or will hinder rice and provisions coming to their markets—no English import rice for sale there—but for exportation & most brought down the River—so misinform'd. About the inequality of 2½ seer on a Rupee's worth of Rice considering difference of price.

93. THE SAME.

Extracts from Abstract of a General Letter from Fort William to the Court, December 10, 1712, *and February* 7 *and* 8, 1713. *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K.* 77.

68. *December* 10, 1712.—The works about Fort William are in great forwardness the wharf finisht but the brest works design'd on it not yet made, a Strong bridge and Crane at the end of it to work at all times of the tide is near compleated, the remaining work within the walls is a little work on one Curtain to make a walk round the Walls and a range of lodgings within the Fort which are so Decay'd as ready to fall which with repairing part of the Curtain near the River to be built with lime, will near compleat the chargeable work.

69. Reason why can't make a Ditch round their Town lest the rapid river in the wet Season Should wash all away.

34. *February* 7 *and* 8, 1712-13. — Map of the Fort and the Conveniencys in it now Sent Drawn by Captain Harnett the Chief Gunner.

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94. Instructions from the Court touching Fortifications, Buildings, and Revenues.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, February 2, 1713. Paragraphs 74 and 75. Letter Book No. 14.

74. We hear you make a very pompous Show to the Water side by high Turrets and Lofty Buildings which have the appearance but not the benefit of a Fortification This if so is contrary to our Aim and Orders If you review all of them you will find our design was to obtain a Building that should be strong eno' to answer all the ends of a Fortification without the appearance and when you ever did any thing to make it stronger you shou'd colour it over with some specious pretence of the necessity of Warehouses or other Buildings If to the Water side it was to make the Wharf strong eno' against the Rapidity of the Stream The ditch to drain your Town of all the standing water But instead of this We hear you mount your Guns on the Points publickly which ought not to done for fear one time or other an avaritious Duan or other Governour that has a mind to squeez us make this a handle and obtain the Emperours order to pull it down and then only for the sake of a Bribe to reverse it some of you must have heard how jealous the Moors are of any thing that looks like a strong house or Fortification and that they pulled down the Old Companys House at Englishavad on that pretence for these reasons tho' We will keep our Fort yet We would have nothing appear to shew it is one and the less it is called by that name the better but all look plain and snug and as if only a good Factory or Compound built well that it may last the longer We shou'd think if you made the sides of the Ditches with a sufficient slope it would hinder them from calving in in the rains which their being almost upright makes them more lyable to but if it will not sufficiently answer We don't think it proper at this time to be at the great charge you mention of facing them with Brick rather take the best care you can to repair the places which fall in and if you did but turf them or plant some small Bushes or other Vegetables whose roots wou'd hold the earth together We shou'd think it wou'd contribute to the preserving the banks and sides of the Ditch but of this consider and do what you think best to answer our main intention

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to make the place tenable against any sudden Insults of Rebels or mutinous Partys for We don't propose it as a Fortress to withstand a Royal Army. Your care to make the place more healthy by draining the Ground We commend If you dont think it adviseable to carry a Ditch round the Towns and make Bridges We acquiesce especially if the inhabitants are too poor to contribute largely towards the charge and must wait till a more fortunate conjuncture happens as We did for the Wall of the Black Town at Madrass which came at last when the People were afraid of a Seige and consequently of being plunder'd.

75. We find in your Consultations of the 22nd March that the Warehouses building by the Water side were order'd to be finisht but not one word in your General Letter in answer to our 64th Paragraph by the *Aurengzebe* of making Armenians Moors and Gentues who used the Warehouse to house the goods they lodg'd in it pay for the charge of it such a Duty as wou'd in a year or two reimburse the first cost this We ought to resent and expect it to be so no more but that you will think if We are at the Pains of writing our Orders you shou'd take care to let us know how far they are comply'd with.

95. Account of the Buildings in 1713.

Extract from Abstract of a General Letter from Fort William to the Court, December 3, 1713. Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K. 77.

113. Have finisht all design'd to Strengthen or adorn ffort William except the Piece of the Curtain built with Mud, must rebuild the row of lodgings within the Fort and take up the Terrace and new timber most of the Store rooms in the Flag Staff yard.

114. The Report of the high Turrets lofty buildings &c[a] misrepresented have only one room on the Fort Wall next the Waterside with a Gallery to the Consultation, where can See all business don on the wharf &c[a] thereabouts they keep their Guns mounted on the Points as always have done it is not safe to dismount them, the Moors pulling down the English house near Maulda and the Tombs there and at Hughly was in the War time.

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115. French and Dutch Factorys at Hughly look as like fortifications as Fort William yet the Moors don't Molest them Whereas Fort William is above 20 Miles lower.

116. Can't make the ditch round the Town safely.

96. HIRE OF A WAREHOUSE.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations, December 24, 1713. *Range I., Vol. II.*

There being a greater quantity of Salt Petre come down from Pattna than we have Godown room for and a Godown being offered for 20 rupees per Month.

AGREED that we hire it.

97. INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE COURT TOUCHING FORTIFICATIONS, BUILDINGS, AND REVENUES.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, January 13, 1714. *Paragraphs* 77-79 *and* 112.

77. The several Particulars last year wrote under this head will for so far shorten this We shoud be glad to hear the works and necessarys mention'd in your 68th Paragraph were compleated but must not omit taking notice That you say a Range of Lodgings must be Rebuilt because ready to fall down when that Range was first erected you have not inform'd Us however We wou'd make this Remark upon it—Whatever is built let it be of Pucker work and very substantial and can't find fault with the brick Godown you order'd to be built the 2d. May instead of the thatcht Godowns for the Naval Stores We suppose you will always understand that We mean whether We express it or no that all buildings must be done with the best husbandry, nothing more charged than what really laid out, all materials bought at best hand the Workmen kept to their labour during the stated time and that whatever is done be so contriv'd as to add to the strength and defence of the Place tho' you need not let the Natives or even our own People know this is our design or if they see it is for that purpose tell them we intend it only for Self-preservation for it may be sometimes necessary that the Natives shou'd have an apprehension of our Power and strength that they may not be tempted to insult or attack Us especially during such times as have been of late

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while the Countrey has been unsettled and it remain'd doubtful who shou'd acquire the Sovereignty of it.

78. We did by the *Kent* receive the Draught or Map of Fort William with the Paper of References.

79. If you had look'd back so far as our Letter of the 7th April 1708 where the first mention was of making a Ditch round Calcutta [1] you might have observ'd the objection you make Paragraph 69 was answer'd because We did not intend the Ditch shou'd be made to come into the River above Calcutta as foreseeing the rapidity of the River in the time of y^e^ freshes would eat away the Ground the stream beating so strongly against Radnagur Point and therefore a Wall and Land defence was to be preserv'd and made there and at the other end below where it was propos'd the Water shou'd vent into the River it was also proposed to make Sluices to keep the water in and other defences to hinder the gullying away of the bank where it empty'd it self that that Ditch was to drain away the Water from the Town and to prevent the swampiness of the lower grounds which contributed to the sicklyness of the place because it was scarce ever quite dry and that the whole was on Mr. Winder's opinion who knew the Place and believ'd it wou'd be a good security and also very useful as is more largely exprest in that Letter but if you find that either the Ditch so directed is too chargeable or is not worth the cost in point of defence and that you have no occasion to drain off the water from or about the Town or for any other reasons it is better to forbear making it We shall say no more of this at present as we shall not concerning the Dry Dock for the reasons mentioned in the next Paragraph given after receiving our Letter by the *Mary*.

112. On considering your 40th and 41st Paragraph about the Goods stole out of the Import Warehouse We are strangely surpriz'd at the account how was it possible for such bulky goods as three and twenty Looking Glasses fourteen Firearms and the several Peices of Silks Druggets and Perpetuano's to be convey'd away undiscover'd tho' the Gold and Silver Plate might be conceal'd You ought to have enquir'd who the Centinels were and handled them as they deserv'd for at best it was unaccountable carelessness or as we rather suspect they were Accomplices By comparing both

[1] See extract 73.

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Paragraphs it seems plain to Us the Window Shutters were not fasten'd and if so we say the Warehousekeeper ought and must make Us satisfaction and We expect you take care he do so for We are not to suffer for his carelessness it being his Duty to take care for the needful security of all under his charge If the Window Shutters were broken open and that would appear plainly then We shall not insist on his making satisfaction however learn to be so wise by this misfortune as to take care the Windows of all other the Warehouses be cross barr'd and good locks put to the inside of the Shutters and all of them shut up and lock'd every night that the Military be kept under a strict discipline and not suffer'd to sleep in the night as your 41st Paragraph mentions We must further observe that the account of what stollen is not at all well done you mention indeed what goods you have recover'd and the value of y^e^ Silver and the Thieves houses and necessarys sold but nothing of the value of what lost which you ought all to be animadverted upon for not doing You cou'd not pretend want of time for you write the Robbery was in November and the Account is not sent till February after.

98. Protective Works at Perrin's Garden.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations, June 10, 1714. *Range I., Vol. II.*

The River having Broke in the Bank near Perrins Garden which endangers the Loss of great part of the Town, to prevent which

Ordered That a Drain be made of Brick, at the Breach and a Bridge over it that the Passage may be open near the River side the Charge whereof the Buxie is to keep a Particular Account of.

99. Purchase of Two Brick Warehouses.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations, October 12, 1714. *Range I., Vol. II.*

Having for some time past had thoughts of building Warehouses for the Sloops Stores, that they may be kept apart, and not mixt with other Stores or happen to be Lost, or twice Charged, and two Brick Warehouses new and Substantiall with a convenient Compound between them Walled all round lying in the most convenient place possible for that purpose the Price

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2,364 rupees which we can buy them for being considerably Less then we can possibly build Such for.

AGREED we buy them for Account the Honourable Company and that they be appropriated to be Store Rooms, and a work Yard for the Companys Sloops and Vessels.

100. ACCOUNT OF THE BUILDINGS IN 1714.[1]

Extracts from Abstracts of General Letters from Fort William to the Court, December 11, 1714, *and January* 19, 1715. *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K.* 77.

169. *December* 11, 1714.—Have not rebuilt the range of Lodgings mention'd in the Letter 10th December 1712, but must Soon the Walls being ready to fall by the Rats eating in and the timbers being rotten Could not do it before at best hand all the other works in that Paragraph are don except the part of the Curtain which will yet last.

170. Reason against making a Ditch round the towns as Mr. Winder proposed, don't now want it for a drain for the ground about them is dry in a few hours after the heavyest rain the long walk made to the Lake gives free passage for the Air so that now the place is as healthy as any in India.

171. Charge of digging the Ditch would be a rupee for 11½ Solid Covids of earth taken out.

172. The Soil of Bengall being two or three foot clay then Sand and soon clay and sand can't make a Ditch to last unless faced with brick and cemented with good Mortar for turfing or planting —trees will not do and it would cost 200,000 rupees.

22. *January* 19, 1714-15.—Shall wharf the Dock next the Store rooms to prevent the river washing away the bank.

101. INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE COURT ABOUT BUILDINGS, REVENUES, AND A HOSPITAL.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, January 12, 1715. *Paragraphs* 78, 79, *and* 107. *Letter Book No.* 15.

78. Your 118th Paragraph tells us the Warehouse mention'd in our 75th Paragraph is not begun this doth not a little surprize

[1] This is the last year of the administration of John Russell. On December 3, 1714, Robert Hedges assumed charge of the Government of Calcutta, and retained it till his death, December 28, 1717.

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us did not former Letters tell Us you were building such a Warehouse that you the then Council proposed it and that Armenians Moors and Gentues would house their goods there and in a little time the Warehouse Rent would pay the charge of Building We quoted the Order of your Consultation where that Warehouse for so it appears was order'd to be finished and told you our mind upon it And now to say it is not so much as begun doth not this plainly prove to us what we have heard possitively asserted that our late President has more than once given as a reason when ask't why he wrote us some things that were not so and which he said he never intended That he must put such things into the Letters to amuse Us But if this unfaithful humour prevail'd in him what can such of the then and now Council who Sign'd such Letters say for themselves for so doing We mention it here to prevent any more repetitions Since it is not begun and you now say such a Warehouse will not in two or five years defray the first cost building, being so chargeable with you don't begin it But at the same time wou'd have you well consider and send your opinion with impartiality and honesty to us on the following Queries Viz[t] Whether the Countrey Merchants do not trade to Suratt Persia or other places yearly from Bengall whether they do not send their Goods on Europe or European's Shipping, whether such Goods are not providing by them all the year long to be ready against the time of Shipping, whether if such Goods were lodg'd at Calcutta and they could be sure they were safe there and to be come at whenever they would, the Warehouse Rent at Calcutta being at as cheap a Rate as it costs them at Hughley would not in a few years and in how many pay for the charge of building substantial and fit Warehouses for that use whether such Goods so housed at Calcutta could not with more ease and expedition be shift off thence on freight than from Hughley, whether the Merchants would not if fairly dealt with and Calcutta was made a free Port to them on this occasion choose rather to let their Goods lie at Calcutta than Hughley where they are always liable to the Moors oppression, whether on these occasions You could not be always sure of letting out yearly one of our Ships on freight to them and not be put to the necessity of sending your Broker to Hughley to hunt for Freight Goods and be liable to his humour

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(if it be his and not our own Peoples) whether our Ship shall have any or what freight That Freight eno' may be got the *Somers* before mention'd is a flagrant instance and whether (since We are at the Charge of all the Settlement and give our own Servants opportunitys of getting Estates honestly if they will) It is not convenient We should come into some of the profit with them in freight Voyages, Consider also wherever something is doing something is coming, for our Towns would increase in useful handycrafts and Merchants which would be one way or other beneficial to Us.

79. We can't add to our earnest and frequent desires to you to improve our Towns and their Income.

107. We are glad to find the care taken for the Sick Souldiers as the same is enter'd in your Consultation of the 20th August for regulating the Hospital which do you at fit times enquire about to see if it be continued and whenever you find any failure rectify it and remember the saving the life of but one man is worth the pains of his greatest Superiour, Let none of their Officers abuse them by mulcting them for any little faults or otherwise stopping their pay or making them pay extravagantly for what they have in the intervals between Pay days but take care every Souldier receives his own pay and is always well dealt with and then you may expect their chearful obedience.

102. The Long Row in the Fort to be Rebuilt.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations, March 7, 1715. *Range I., Vol. III.*

The long Rowe of Lodgings that reaches from the river sideward to the East Curtain being ready to fall down and having had the consideration of rebuilding itt severall times before us of which We gave our Honourable Masters an Account in our generall Letters the two past yeares and Bricks being ready prepared.

Order'd That the Buxie doe immediately go about itt and that the dock by the Storehouses and Workyard for the Vessells be staked and Turfed which will secure itt one year and cost but little money The reason of our defferring to wharfe that as itt will

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be necessary to doe another time because itt will be difficult to look after Buildings in two places att the same time.[1]

103. Observations on Captain Harnett's Appointment as Supervisor of the Sloops' Stores, on the New Warehouses, and on the Revenues.

Extracts from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, February 15, 1716. Paragraphs 26 and 77. Letter Book No. 15.

26. In your Consultation of the 20th of March We find you have appointed Captain Harnett Supervisor of the Sloops Stores and ordered the Pylots Masters and Boatswains of the Sloops to be always accountable to him and he to you for the Stores then on board and what should be afterwards deliver'd and in that of the 12th October it appears you bought two New and Substantial Brick Warehouses with a Compound cheaper than you could build them and as your 240th Paragraph says they are very conveniently situated near the River Side by which means you propose a considerable advantage to Us by keeping the Sloops' Stores therein to prevent their being lost or doubly charged and also a Work Yard for the said Sloops that you will thereby save more than their cost every year in Stores and reparations of the Sloops we shall never complain of any Instances of Charge that will promote good Husbandry, prevent further loss and turn Us to such good Account what now remains is to see Captain Harnet doth his part and faithfully executes his trust and that the said Warehouses and Work Yard do answer your Expectation.

77. Your Paragraph 182 declares the hopes you have That if you obtain a Phirmaund for a Grant of the Ground you expect as

[1] The entries in the Charges General show that these orders were carried into effect. In the Charges General for April, 1715, there are the entries: 'Charges new building the rowe, 1,070 0 3; Charges Dock, 92 4 0'; and in the Charges General for July, 1715: 'Charges new Building the long row, 737 10 0; Do. Dock, 8 4 9.' Again, in September, 1715: 'Charges rebuilding the long Rowe, 723 11 6.' In the Charges General for February, 1716, we find the following: 'Repairing the Long Row, 13 5 3; Do. the Doctors Lodgeing, 236 1 9; Rebuilding the Doctors Shop, 113 1 9; Dock Wharfing, 46 12 9; Filling up the nasty holes, 7 8 9.' In the Charges General for the month of March, 1716, we find the following items: 'Repairing the Long rowe, 7 5 6; Ditto Doctors Lodgeing, 162 3 3; Rebuilding the Doctors Shop, 113 2 9: Warfing the Dock, 1,067 9 0.'

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contained in Mr. Surman's Instructions that our Revenues will rise in a few years sufficient to bear all our Charges in Bengall this is acceptable News we mention it here for your own as well as our remembrance.

104. Account of Fortifications, Buildings, and Revenues in Bengal in 1716.

Extracts from Abstracts of Letters from Bengal to the Court of Directors. September 13, 1716, *also November* 27, 1716. *Factory Records, Misc.* 7*a*.

Letter per 'Arabella,' 13th October, 1716.

41. Shall soon agree on a duty on all Rice brought into the Company's towns.

42. What the Revenues for the 3 last Years. they encrease the annuall amount of said 3 years to 30th April 1716. decrease the last being ⅓ less than the first of those years of factory Charges.

44. Long row of Lodgings finisht and commodious now best.

45. dock adjoyning to the Storerooms Wharft—must carry the wharf further—why—it will hold 2 ships of 400 tons—will lay a duty thereon.

46. account of leveling the Ground near the Fort—the benefit—what charge of 2 tanks whose earth fill'd the pits—& of stairs to them.

47. Account what Sort of ground they found in digging the Tanks and of trees therein found 30 foot deep—and of the measuring wherein found their mistake of which wrote per *Hanover*.

48. A Stinking ditch by Mr. Marche's house must be fill'd up—then shall have no more work of this kind to do.

49. Proposal to lengthen the Fort 50 feet the way where the windows were in the Curtain of the South Side of the fort—what benefitt-query Committee.

Letter 27 November, 1716, *per 'King George.'*

22. Warehouse by the dock very convenient for Stores &c[a] why . . .

85. All houses bought or sold by Europeans registered & no lease granted for 31 years. each pays yearly ground rent and brick

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houses a years ground rent when bought or sold and Lease receiv'd. about Mr. Brownes house and who owners.

If the right to houses ends with the Lease who will build new ones of value.

105. Instructions from the Court touching Fortifications, Buildings, and Revenues.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, January 18, 1717. *Paragraph* 53. *Letter Book No.* 16.

53. We have not much to say on any of these heads It is a pleasure to Us to hear you have so little occasion or prospect of more buildings or Repairs and next to that That what hath been done is substantial and of Pucka work and cheaper than any Private man could have done it We see by this the benefit of having faithful Persons to direct and inspect them Remember to keep as you promise all disbursements of that kind each under its proper head Suffer no Buildings within the Fort but what are of Brick and well secured from Fire for fear of Accidents of which We find a terrible Account in your Copy Book of Letters receiv'd where in Mr. Ange's Letter from Cassimbuzar dated 19th March he writes That the Fire at Muxodavad had consumed all the houses within three Miles round except Brick work Be sure don't use any of the Oalie[1] Timber which by your account is subject to rot take care to get the most durable tho' you stay sometimes awhile to procure it.

106. Additions to the Fort.

Extracts from Abstracts of Letters from Bengal to the Court of Directors, December 3, 1717, *received* 1718. *Factory Records, Misc.* 7*a*.

6. Have begun a breastwork on the Platform before the Fort on pretence of defence against Ships under Maltese Commissions.

73. Were all their Timbers Salty and Corea which comes from Ballasore or Teak which got sometimes of the Dutch as the new built and repairs are, should have no great Expence in repairing for many years, the oaley timbers must serve as long as they will,

[1] i.e., oily, from the Dutch *olie*.

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hope will never use more of it because it rots soon and breeds white ants, therefore have yearly good timbers from Ballasore for store, used to make Gun Carriages of oaly Timbers but it was ill husbandry, they became useless, will now of Salty which will last many years and old Iron work shall be used up again.

74. Reason why desire the lengthening the Curtain by adding a Compound of 50 foot wide to make room in the warehouse will send an Estimate of the Cost when Survey'd it.

75. Will build two small rooms on ye arches by the Eastern Gate for the military officers on duty to ly in, will not cost much.

76. Will encrease the Revenues with safety and without oppression, must purchase the Towns granted by the Mogul when not too dear.

107. THE RIVERSIDE HUTS TO BE PULL'D DOWN.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations, January 24, 1717. *Range I., Vol. IV.*

The small thatcht Hutts standing on the Rivers edge before the town being observed not to preserve but prejudice the Banks,

ORDER'D That they all be pulled down and be removed before the rains sett in and that It be the Jemendars care to see all as far up as Pranns [Parān's] House a little short of Captain Seatons Compound formerly called the ffacquiers (faqīr) Ground pulled down and removed.

108. PURCHASE OF THE OCTAGON NEAR SŪTĀNUṬĪ.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations, November 14, 1717. *Range I., Vol. IV.*

The Octogon built on a point of Land near Chuttanuttee from which the River bends towards Hugly and this Place by which Scituation it overlooks the River up and down a great way, for which reasons the Collector of Hugly Customes has severall Times attempted to get it into his hands in Order to fix a Choukey There which would greatly incommode all the Affaires both Publick and Private at this Place Therefore to prevent it falling at any Time into his hands as It had lik once to have done That We buy it for the Honourable Companys Use the Price agreed on being four hundred Madras Rupees Which is much

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less then the Octogon (which is Strong and well built) cost the building of besides with the Ground belonging to it is nearly worth that money.[1]

109. Instructions from the Court touching Fortifications, Buildings and Revenues.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, January 8, 1718. Paragraphs 52 and 53. Letter Book No. 16.

52. We expect to hear what Duty is laid on Shipping for the use of the Dock adjoyning to the Storerooms which you say will receive two Ships of each 400 Tons and doubt not but you will settle ye same in the manner you think most for our Interest doubtless this will be a considerable Advantage in expediting their Voyages when they shall have so good an opportunity to clean and tallow immediately before they take in their Lading

53. In answer to your 49th Paragraph of the 13th September cant the Windows be so secured by setting substantial Iron Bars so close and Bars again [a]cross them that it shall be impossible for any body to break or get through them or to hand out any Goods tho' on the inside of the Warehouses and then the supposition of the Warehouses being spoil'd by bricking up the Windows ceases But if the making such a Compound and Virandas for depositing and securing the Merchants Goods will be so great a convenience that then no other would be wanting in the Fort or Factory and can be made substantial and not stand Us in above Two Thousand Rupees We permit you to make it If not send Us an Estimate what it will cost and expect our further Orders tho' We should think since this Building Proposed will be of so great benefit to the Merchants who bring in their Goods by securing them from the pilfering of your own Souldiers and Servants which they bear the loss of they ought to contribute towards the Charge be it more or less and especially to make up the Surplus of the aforesaid Summe.

[1] The Octagon was subsequently sold for the same sum, Rupees 400.

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110. GODOWNS TO BE BUILT UPON THE STABLES.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations, Thursday, March 6, 1718. Range I., Vol. IV.

There being a Convenient Place wanting wherein the Honourable Companys Tents may be lodged dry to prevent their Rotting by the Damps they are liable to in the Ground Chamber where they have hitherto been kept for want of the Air's having a Free Passage thro' it and no other Room can be spar'd in the Factory Every one being Inhabited by the Honourable Companys Servants who live two and Three together,

AGREED Therefore that Convenient Godowns be built upon the Companys Stables for that Purpose and to keep the House Furniture from Damaging.

111. ACCOUNT OF THE FORTIFICATIONS, BUILDINGS AND REVENUES IN 1718.[1]

Extract from Abstract of a General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, December 6, 1718. Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K. 78.

85. Could they obtain the Possession of the 38 towns these would in a few years raise Revenues Sufficient to bear all the Charges and the necessary encrease of the Military to defend them against the Moors if Attempting to take them away who don't care for fighting, but as must purchase them of the several Owners and Jaffer Caun will hinder it all he can, therefore intend to buy them up at times, could they get but a few nearest the 3 Towns it would be a great addition to the Revenues—hope to effect it.

86. The Dock adjoining to the Store room mention'd in Paragraph 52 has cost Rupees 7,824 : 2 the casing with a brick wall, would have floord and finisht it with gates &c[a] to Dock ships, but on a survey of Carpenters &c[a] find it will cost above Rupees 20,000 and never bring in half the Interest and the Timbers would rot in 3 or 4 Years and the Repairs cost more than it will earn.

87. Mr. Hedges[2] proposed flooring it with brick and Mortar but

[1] The first year of the administration of Samuel Feake, who assumed office January 12, 1718.

[2] Robert Hedges, the late Governor, who died December 28, 1717.

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that will not hold the ground being so loose, therefore shall not expend more on it till have further orders.

88. It is continually filling up with Mud by the freshes, however 15th July order'd small Vessells to pay 40 Rupees per Spring for the use of it and others in proportion and to clean & stop it at their own expence.

89. The Enlarging the Fort and building Virandas mention'd Paragraph 53 will cost to be don well ten times the 2000 Rupees proposed so that having sufficient room for the Companys and Merchants Goods don't think fitt to lay out Money in Buildings, the Warehouse Windows are well secured.[1]

93. May 6th order'd a Convenient place to be built over the Stables for Horse & Pallankeen furniture & Tents &c[a] which damage in damp floors this will give more room for other services.

94. The River at Cassimbuzar having eaten away the Ground to the hazard of the Factory have made while Mr. ffeake [was] there a strong wharf 800 foot long Secured by a Strong brick wall and 2 handsom pair of Stairs gaining 60 foot on the River all cost about 3000 Rupees of which the Company only [paid] 250 the Merchants the rest.

95. Several of the Merchants have been perswaded to wharf before their own houses, hope by degrees to prevail on the rest to prevent the Rivers gaining on the town.

104. Faults in the Muster rolls are amended the Hospital regulated not half dy as used, Souldiers that dreaded going thither now desire it when out of order.[2]

[1] This is in answer to paragraph 53 of the Letter from the Court of January 8, 1718. See extract 109.

[2] I have found two other abstracts of this letter, but they are less full. In a subsequent short letter to the Court, dated January 20, 1719, paragraph 14 (*Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. x.), I find 'Captain Henry Harnett who was head Gunner of this Fort, and master of attendance departing this life the 30th of November, that place became vacant, and Capt. John Jones who has been Commander of severall good Ships for these many years in India, always having behaved himself to the satisfaction of the employers offering his service, we took it into Consideration, and the 30th December agreed he should succeed in that Post being as fitt a man as we think can be met with, and we hope his behaviour will be such as your Honours may approve of our Choice.'

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112. INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE COURT TOUCHING FORTIFICATIONS, BUILDINGS AND REVENUES.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, January 9, 1719. Paragraphs 56-61.

56. We observe the reasons you give for building the Breastwork on your Platform and why you took that opportunity of doing it and approve thereof.

57. Since it appears so plain in the Letter before Us that the Oaley Timbers rot so soon and are subject to breed white Ants We hope you will use no more of them on any account for you say Teak is sometimes to be procured and Salty and Corea is to be had at Ballasore both durable and will bear all Weathers and therefore fittest for Gun Carriages &c[a] uses We are assured very good Teak and in great quantitys grows at and near to Divy, if so you may have Supplys from thence when once We are settled, be that as it will have no more to do with the Oaley Timber which creates much more Charge than the bare buying of New comes to, This We take notice of here for your Observation and our own Remembrance for it is plain to Us by the wording [of] that Paragraph That the using that Timber is censured as a great fault and casts a Reflection on those who suffer'd it to be bought and used tho' it is cautiously exprest.

58. You will find in last year's Letter Paragraph 53, that we did give leave for building the Compound you wrote about and now again renew your request to have it done in Paragraph 74, but we have no Account of the estimate of it's cost which you design'd to send if you had leisure, surely you might have had that leisure in the former part of the year and a little time would have done it whenever set about.

59. We perceive you think there is a Necessity to build a New Banksall and a few Apartments at Hugley in that case We acquiesce, take care all be done with frugality and made substantial Remember and comply with your promise that if the Buildings at Balasore costs above Five hundred Rupees the Surplus shall be raised by Subscription of others who will have a benefit thereby.

60. We take notice of the assurances you give that you do

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endeavour the Encrease of our Revenues by all possible means without oppressing the People We rely on your care to continue it you will find in last years Letters what we wrote you on this head which may serve for an answer to some part of your 76th Paragraph now before Us wherein We gave you also.our reasons.

61. It is a great satisfaction to Us to read that exact Justice is administer'd to all under you and that it shall be continued We know no better way to People your Towns nor any better proof of it than the encrease of useful Inhabitants who to be sure will resort where they may best be secured from oppression or secret or open Squeezings and treated with humanity, The more such Inhabitants there are the more will our Revenues encrease besides other benefits to the Place.

113. Repair of the Main Guard Gate.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations, Thursday, May 14, 1719. *Range I., Vol. IV.*

The main Guard Gate being very much out of repair, the Arches crak'd through and the beams and rafters all rotten and decay'd that its in danger of Falling in.

Agreed we repaire it with the best of Timbers and

Order'd That the Buxey take particular care to See the Arches well turn'd with the best materials.

114. Account of Buildings in 1719.

Extracts from Abstract of a General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, November 29, 1719. *Paragraphs* 106, 107, 113, *and* 114. *Coast and Bay Abstracts, K.* 78.

106. In answer to Paragraph 57 Teak and saltee Timbers are most durable and in effect much cheaper than these sorts they now provide. The Beams and rafters are cover'd the Main guard built with Oaley Timbers but 19 Years were so rotten forced to pull it down as per Consultation 14th May, It is now firmly repair'd with large Saltee Beams and rafters and if well lookt after may last 60 or 70 Years and can mount Guns upon it must be kept clean and Oyled.

107. In answer to Paragraph 58 touching the inlargements of the ffort advised last year the great summe it would cost to make

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it strong and shall do nothing therein without further Orders besides it will spoil the form of it.

113. In answer to Paragraph 63 have found the Charges Collection Anno 1717 to be increased by making a Gunge [*ganj*] or Market at Govindpore and filling up some swamps at the burying ground, but that expence ought not to have been Charg'd under Collection.

114. Calcutta Buzar Revenues encreasing and other Towns Buzars being less occasion'd by accidents and Peoples removing from one Town to another do take the best care possible in all, Govindpore is so swampy that it is not all inhabited, Calcutta Trade is brisker.[1]

115. Instructions from the Court touching Fortifications, Buildings, and Revenues in 1720 and 1721.

Extracts from General Letters from the Court to Bengal. London, February 3, 1720 (*paragraphs* 59-64), *and April* 26, 1721 (*paragraphs* 39-42). *Letter Book No.* 17.

59. We observe the making the Dock as it should be according to the Report given by those who survey'd it will as you say be very expensive and need a continued repair because the Timber will decay and be eat up of the Worms in three or four years and never bring in half the Interest of the Money, you concluded very justly to do nothing further about it but to make the best of it as it now is, as We have already taken notice of under the head of Shipping both these Effects of your care and good husbandry for Us are pleasing.

60. Since the Charge of Building the proposed Compound and Virandas will cost so great a Sum of Money and that you have sufficient Room in the Fort for ours and the Merchants Goods your Conclusion was well grounded to lay aside the thoughts of burying our Money in Bricks and Mortar and We ought in justice

[1] I have found two other abstracts of this letter. In one of them, Abstract of Letters from the Bay, 1719, received 1720, it says: 'Tenants so poor cant get in the Jemindars Accounts under 2 Months from some, will endeavour to get it a month nearer but cant promise. . . . Desire the Company's orders about the Elephant, must not sell him. Have above 220 Souldiers, will reduce them when peace, but 20 black fellows in a Company, do service in heat of sun and do serve for interpreters.'

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to you to acknowledge That We have by many years observation found you have in the Article of Deadstock for buildings been always frugal in laying out our Money, how it came about that Mr. Hedges was so overseen in making the Dock without considering as you now advise the great charge it would stand in, the small income it would produce or the constant repairs it would require We cant but wonder at for both that and the making the new Virandas and Compound were proposed to Us in his time and the Prospect of Benefit to Us by both which occasioned our then Concessions We believe they were thought to be advantagious as We now do that you found it necessary to build ye Room you mention for keeping the House and Pallankeen Furniture, Tents &c^{a} better than in the lower Rooms where the damp Ground would soon damage and spoil them, We shall never find fault with such necessary Disbursments for they are in event Instances of Frugality.

61. For the like reason We would not pass over Mr. Feaks good Conduct in building the Wharf at Cassimbuzar to prevent the River's encroaching further on the ground and washing away the Factory and that by making convenient Stairs for the Gentues to wash themselves he prevailed on the Merchants to contribute near the whole Charge of it the Companys part being only Two hundred and fifty Rupees though the whole stood in near Three thousand.

62. We must say the same as to that other good piece of mannagement in prevailing on the Merchants to wharf before their own Houses at Calcutta and the Example thereby given to induce as you hope you shall all others to do the same along the Shore to prevent the Rivers eating away any part of the Town This is a good instance of foresight and We shall be glad to hear it is fully effected for the rapidness of the River is very great and if as you mention when you wrote about the Dock the ground is so loose the Danger is by so much the greater It is much easier and cheaper to prevent than stop a Water Breach.

63. We come now to take Notice of that which We must always have a due regard to Viz^{t} The Articles of our Revenue We need not repeat the Reasons We have often mention'd them The assurances you give Us That you will and still do continue to

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enlarge our Revenues all you possibly can without oppression and faithfully promise your utmost Endeavours as well to augment them as diminish the Expences excepting that of the Military which you would not lessen are so many acceptable Instances of your care and Zeal for our Service We can desire no more but to see these promising Blossoms ripening into fruit We would not have them enlarged by oppressing any the poorest Person and allow the reason you give for continuing your Military that it is the best Argument you can use for supporting our Priviledges and the Trade to be very substantial the Experience at Cassimbuzar and for bringing down your Goods are pregnant Instances of it among many others.

64. Notwithstanding the Doubts We had whether it wou'd be our Interest to have the Thirty-eight Towns if granted or whether they might not engage Us in quarrels with the Moors if hereafter they should be resolved to take them away when they found them to flourish of which We wrote you to have your opinion We find by Paragraph 85 you say they would be of great advantage to Us to have them This we have discoursed Mr. Frankland upon and of the necessary Charge of Souldiers to protect them from or keep off Insults and having well weigh'd the expected profit on one side and the trouble that one time or other may be occasioned thereby on the other We think it best for Us to have only so many of them (when you can purchase them) as lye contiguous to our Three Towns above and below them and those on the other side of the River within about the same extent of Ground as the Towns when purchased reach on your side and We are inclin'd to have only such of them as lye on or within about two Miles of the Bank of the River because if there should ever be a necessity of defending them from the Inroads of some neighbouring Petty Governour our Souldiers may not be harrast by long Marches to defend our Bounds We suppose too that when Jaffer Caun [Ja'far Khān] or any other Governor finds you desire only part of what you might insist on he or they may be the easier to give their Consent and not pick future quarrels for as our Business is Trade It is not political for Us to be encumber'd with much Territory, Mr. Frankland assures Us the ground on the other side of you would be of great Service to Us for repairing our Ships

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because the River is not rapid there and as We have said about the Dock That We should find benefit if We could have a good one We might also add that if ever We should be forced to the necessity of it Our Settlement there would enable Us to command the River But this is not to be so much as publickly hinted at lest it alarm the Government.

39. We observe you are sensible of the difference as to substantialness and lasting between the Oaly and Saltee and Teak Timbers that what you have made use of hath been of the durable sort and none of the Oaly which will soon decay Let it be your care to have the timbers well lookt after since as you write if they are so and kept clean'd and oyl'd they will last Seventy years whereas the others were all rotten in less than Twenty, We need not add to what [We] have so often inculcated That all Buildings and Repairs when necessary be made substantial the first Cost is the least.

40. We have before Us the Lists in the Packets and what referred to in Consultation of our Revenues Viz[t] of the Account of Arrack imported for the years 1717, 18 and 19, of Grain exported for the same time, The two Accounts of Consulage (the Consultation of the 1st June says of the first it was paid in at several times but We find no Entry in Consultation what or when any was paid, this must be hereafter mended) The Account of the Rise and Fall of the Revenues for three years past, The Account of Tonnage and Pass Money &c[a]. That of the Dutys arising from the Payments to Ballasore Banksaul and the Jamindar's Monthly Accounts how (and to what Sum) the same arise We depend on your assurances that you will continue your utmost Endeavours for their further encreasing without oppressing the Inhabitants but there is one fault to be found in most of them Viz[t] No body certifys they have been examin'd and found to be right, this must be amended.

41. If you cant get in the Jemindar's accounts under two Months after the end of The Months Account We must submit, however try to bring it a month nearer as you promise, but don't let it be again standing out Three Months as sometimes hath been the case.

42. If the Swampyness of Govindpore which you say occasions part of that Towns being uninhabited and you find it worth the

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while to be at the charge of draining it or filling up the holes We permit your doing it as well on account of rendring it more healthy as the benefit will arise to Us by its being peopled, you are on the place and can best judge and determine on either side of the Question.

116. Expenses of the New Road.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations, Monday, May 1, 1721.
Range I., Vol. IV.

167. Mr. John Eyre Jeemeendar now brought in an account of the Charge of making a new Road and Bridges from the Factory towards Govinpoor; and of what Sums were collected from the Merchants &c[a] toward the defraying that Charge.

117. Report of Progress in 1720 and 1721.

Extracts from Abstracts of General Letters from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, December 28, 1720 (*paragraphs* 109, 110, 114, 119), *and January* 31, 1721-22 (*paragraph* 84). *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K.* 78.

109. *December* 28, 1720.—Glad the Company approve their Conduct about the Dock resolving in all things to do for the Companys Service therefore did not go on with the Virandas and Compound, only building rooms for horse and Pallankeen furniture Tents &c[a] no advantage can accrue by what Mr. Hedges proposed thereby but to make the ffort more spacious.

110. The Merchants continue Wharfing as the season will allow this will preserve the Lands against the rapids of the Stream.

114. In answer to Paragraph 64 about the 38 towns the Interregnum hinder'd proceeding therein, in Vain to give a Nabob money till know whether he be setled, for else must pay it again to a New One.

119. The reason for making the new roads was to drain Govindpore to bring Inhabitants thither this in time will increase the Revenues by these roads can see into the Neighbouring Jamidars Countrey who attack'd them two years since and March better to support the Out guards if insulted by him but he is very humble since, the Place is now made healthyer by the Winds free Passage to the town the inhabitants at the charge of all.

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84. *January* 31, 1721-22.—For last 4 months the Revenues have been encreasing again since finishing the new Road and draining the Grounds the Inhabitants encreasing so that Wast ground is now inhabited will drain Govindpore if worth while because it will bring Inhabitants and make Calcutta healthyer.[1]

118. Gunners' Godown to be Repaired and the Church Top to be New Covered.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Friday, February 9, 1722. *Range I., Vol. V.*

The Gunners Godown in the Banksall Yard not having been repaired for many years, and We having survey'd it find the Beams are much decay'd, so that it must be new covered,

Ordered therefore that the Buxey uncover it, and put in substantial new Beams, and give it a thorough repair. . . .

The Beams which support the Roof of the Church being very rotten so that the Top is in danger of falling in,

Ordered That the Buxey cover it with the best Timbers procurable.

119. Instructions from the Court touching Fortifications and Buildings in 1722.

Extracts from Letters from the Court to Bengal. London, February 16, 1722. *Paragraphs* 67 *and* 76. *Letter Book No.* 18.

67. On the two first Branches of this head[2] We have little to say at present, but to remark, by what appears to Us, there hath been nothing paid (for We find nothing charged as receiv'd) for the use of the Dock in the Account of Tonnage and Licences tho' in the like Account for the year 1719, We find Two hundred and forty Rupees receiv'd as We have mention'd under the head of Shipping.

76. The reasons given for making the new Roads on the South-South-West and East to West Sides of your Towns and the benefit

[1] I have found two other abstracts of this letter. In one of them, Abstract of Letters from the Bay in 1721, received in 1722, it says: 'The Road on the South side the Town finisht after some struggles with the Government.'

[2] 'Fifthly, touching our Fortifications Buildings and Revenues.'

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expected and arising thereby, as well to see through your Bounds into the Countrey of the Neighbouring Jamindars who attackt you sometime before, as to facilitate the March of your Souldiers when necessary to support your utmost Outguards and prevent private Robberys in the night from Rogues abroad and that thereby the Wind hathe a freer Passage into the Town and likely to contribute to its healthiness carry their own commendations with them and We must add We look on it as a Piece of Good management in you to lay hold of a fitting opportunity to perswade your Inhabitants to agree to your making them and they bear the Charge.

120. Church Top not to be uncovered.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Monday, April 9, 1722. *Range I., Vol. V.*

The Carpenter having survey'd the Timbers in the Church, and acquainting us that they prove better than 'twas suspected they were, and that he believes they may last a year or two longer

Agreed That the Buxey deferr taking them out till we have an opportunity of getting better Timbers than are procurable at this time.

121. Development of Govindpur.[1]

Extracts from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, January 18, 1723. *Paragraphs* 86, 89, *and* 91. *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K*, 78.

86. Consultation of the 5th March shows what done to drain the Low ground between Calcutta and Govingpore by making a high road across it, ground now Tenantable the people begin to build and enclose about it.

89. Ground rent falling from Rupees 13476.4.9 Anno 1721 to Rupees 13020.4.11 in 1722 was occasion'd by the Cowries falling from 5 to 6 Pun [*pan*[2]] in a Rupee, Customary to take them of

[1] Samuel Feake's administration ends here. He returned to England on the *Devonshire*, which brought this letter, John Deane having succeeded him in the Government on January 17, 1723.

[2] A *pan* is 80 cowries.

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the Tennants at 40 Pun, for a Sicca Rupee, Ground rent for Tennants settled 1722 will come in next years account, being collected in October have 4 months allow'd rent free because they raise the Ground fit to live on.

91. Forced to new roof the Gunners Storerooms in the Banksall yard the beams were so rotten, for the same reason must new roof the Church before the Rains.[1]

122. GODOWNS TO BE REPAIRED.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, February 25, 1723. *Range I., Vol. V.*

Monday, February 25th.—The Godowns near the Gunroom the Timbers thereof being very rotten and ready to fall in,

ORDERED the Buxey uncover and give 'em a thorough repair.

123. THE COURT'S COMMENTS ON BUILDINGS AND EXPENDITURE.

Extracts from Letters from the Court to Bengal. London, January 29, 1724. *Paragraphs* 10 *and* 41. *Letter Book No.* 19.

10. Make the most you can of President Hedges's dock, it cost a great deal the Building, and We should think with right mannagement, might be made to turn to some account towards reimbursing Our Charge.

41. On the Two first Branches under this Head,[2] We have little to say as finding by your Letters and Consultations, no Building Work done, only the New Covering of the Gunners Store Rooms, and yet in the General Account enter'd in Consultation of the Profit and Loss Articles wrote off in the Books, We find carry'd to that Account a Summ of Rupees Four Thousand three hundred and eight seven, eleven shillings and nine pence[3] for Charges Reparations, Pray help Us to understand it by explaining how it arises, (The Teak timber bought in November

[1] I have found another abstract of this letter in the Abstracts of Letters from Bengal in 1722, received 1723.

[2] 'Fifthly, touching our Fortifications Buildings and Revenues.'

[3] A mistake of the copyist for eleven annas and nine pies.

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following could not be part of it) for at present It is not intelligible to Us, unless you reckon into it the draining of Govindpore which should be an Article apart, nor can We well apprehend the meaning of another article of Rupees nine Thousand four hundred and seventeen 7.6 for Salt petre, Surely It could not be for making powder, and We don't see what other Use you have for it, that can require any thing of a quantity, for We don't find any notice of your Refining it at Fort William, by which there might be a Wast, as heretofore was practiced, till it was left off by reason of its chargeableness, whether the Salt petre cast away is carry'd to this Account is not plain to Us, Divers other Remarks on the General Annual Charges of Fort William, you will find in the sequel of this Letter, Our Committee of Accounts having that now under Consideration.[1]

124. CHURCH DAMAGED BY LIGHTNING.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Monday, September 21, 1724. Range I., Vol. V.

By terrible Lightening on Saturday night last,[2] the Church has receiv'd great Damage, and particularly the Steeple which is all cracked, and the Beams of the Belfrey almost all broke which makes it very insecure and in Danger of falling

ORDERED therefore that the Buxey do take with him the Master Builder, and examine it carefully, and that what Reperations are necessary be immediately done thereto.

[1] The Court proceed to comment on the expenditure at Fort William. Among the items noticed are Rs. 92 for 41 yards of gold lace; Rs. 351 for the upkeep of three gardens, I suppose Perrin's, Surman's, and the Park—the Court consider two enough; Rs. 515 for bringing drinking-water from Nuddea; Rs. 443 for charcoal for the use of the President and Council, and Rs. 472 for oil; Rs. 1,381 for wax candles; Rs. 2,576 for five horses, an elephant, a camel, thirteen horse-keepers, and eleven grass-cutters; Rs. 69 per month for twenty-three servants in the Governor's cook-room; Rs. 45,947 for military charges, and Rs. 1,739 for doctor's stores expended; also Rs. 198 for firewood; Rs. 53 for feeding goats, rabbits, and deer; Rs. 49 for oil and pickles, and other items of expenditure, apparently for the President's table, which Mr. Feake will have to make good.

[2] September 19.

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125. SURVEY AND REPORT OF THE *GANJ* AT GOVINPDUR.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, November 16 *and* 23, 1724. *Range I., Vol. V.*

November 16.—Captain Henry Cave Master of Attendance acquainting us that the River having greatly gained on the Gunge [*ganj*[1]] at Govindpoor, there is great reason to fear if not timely prevented it will prove very detrimentall to the whole Town.

AGREED therefore that our Secretary do write to the Europe Commanders to request them to goe with our Master of Attendance to Survey the place, and that they give their Report in Writing.

November 23.—In Complyance with our Desire of Monday the 16th Inst. Captain Joseph Tolson has accompanied our Master of Attendance to Survey the Bank of the Gunge at Govindpoor and now Delivered in his Opinion of it in Writing.

TO THE HONOURABLE JOHN DEANE, ESQ., GOVERNOR OF FORT WILLIAM, AND PRESIDENT FOR THE HONOURABLE UNITED ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANYS AFFAIRS AT CALCUTTA.

FORT WILLIAM,
November 10th, 1724.

HONOURABLE SIR,

This Day I received a Summons Signed by Mr. Lloyd one of Your Honour's Councill to goe and Survey the Bank of the River before the great Buzar, which I find to be very defective, and of necessity to be repair'd, the Bazar not only being in Danger, but a large Tract of Land in the Honourable Company's Bounds, which lyes considerably lower than the Bank, and liable to be entirely overflowed which may prove of prodigious ill consequence not only by the Loss of said Ground but likewise the prejudice the Navigation of the River may receive thereby, the Length of the Bank that is to be repaired appears to me to be Eight hundred and fifty feet which must be doubled by outward and inward Piles with three pair of Stairs for Landing of Goods for the Buzar, the whole Charge as represented to me may amount to about two thousand five hundred Rupees if immediately gone about before the Bank receives any further Damage, which I account but very inconsiderable to the Damage the Honourable Company may sustain by the neglect thereof which is the Opinion of

Most Honourable Sir,
Your humble Servant,
JOS. TOLSON.

[1] Market-place.

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126. Memoranda about Buildings in 1724.

Extracts from Abstracts of Letters from Bengal, January 9, 1725; originally Loose Papers, Packet 12, Bengal.

Repairs Rupees 4387 . 11 . 9 mentioned in Paragraph 41 were about the Factory house, godowns, Church &c. was more in former years and since. . . .[1]

Captain Tolson's Survey of the Bank of the River before the great Bazarre ports about 850 foot of the said Bank must be repair'd with outward and Inward piles to have 3 pair of stairs made for landing goods which it is represented will cost about 2500 Rupees if immediately gon about before the Bank receives any further dammage.

127. Repairs to Fort William.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Monday, January 4, 1725. Range I., Vol. VI.

The Timbers and Burgers[2] of the Points and Gunners Store Room as also the Bridge and Crane being in so decay'd a Condition that We have for a long time been obliged to support them with props,

Ordered That Mr. Matthew Wastell Buxey with the Master of Attendance do Survey the same and give them a thorough Repair.

128. The Court's Comments on the Use of the Dock.

Extract from Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, December 1, 1725. Paragraph 56. Letter Book, No. 20.

56. It gives Us some satisfaction to see you do make something of the Dock built by the late President Hedges, He then wrote Us

[1] In another abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court, Fort William, January 9, 1724-25, paragraph 72, received per *Frances* June 20, 1725, Coast and Bay Abstracts, K. 78, it says: 'The Repairs mentioned in paragraph 41 were on the Factory Godowns &c. buildings and charg'd Monthly it has been more before and since, Occasion'd by new Covering great part of the Curtain and Gunners Apartments.'

[2] *Bargā*, a rafter.

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how useful it would be, and it cost Us a great deal of money, but his Successor by his Actions show'd disregard to it, Whatsoever reason he had to do so seem'd to Us rather humour than otherwise, however be it so or not since it is built, We continue Our former desires to make the most you can of it at all times, We find by the last Account of Revenues We had Rupees Four hundred and ninety eight for the use of it.

129. Repairs at Perrins.[1]

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Monday, December 13, 1725. Range I., Vol. VI.

December 13.—The several Outhouses at Perrins being fallen down and the roads very much damaged by the heavy Rains this season,

Agreed the houses be rebuilt with Pucca and the Roads mended out of the money raised on measuring the ground and giving new Pottahs.[2]

130. Account of Buildings in 1725.[3]

Extract from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, January 29, 1726. Paragraphs 60 and 61. Coast and Bay Abstracts, K, 78.

60. Coja Surhaud['s] house sold for Rupees 5565 being all he left at Fort William have no hopes to recover more or that he will return from Dilly.

61. Out houses at Perrins Garden fallen, the Bridges and Roads damag'd by the Rains, agreed 13th December that the Mony collected for measuring the Ground, and for new Pottahs, as yet brought to no Account, shall be laid out in rebuilding the Houses Pucca in repairing the Bridges and Road and securing Chuttanutte bank eaten into by the River.

[1] Perrin's Garden was situated at the northern extremity of Calcutta. It belonged originally to Captain Charles Perrin, who was in Calcutta in 1703-7 (see my *English in Bengal*, I., 226, 286, 287). On the question of repairing the outhouses here at the Company's expense, see below, extracts 132, 134, 139, 140, and 142. In 1752 it was sold to Holwell for Rs. 2,500 (see below, extract 239).

[2] A *patta* is a deed of lease.

[3] This is the last year of John Deane's first administration. On January 30, 1726, Henry Franklandassumed charge of the Government of Calcutta.

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131. Some Repairs and a New Palanquin-house.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Monday, May 9, Monday, October 10, 1726, and Monday, April 17, 1727. Range I., Vol. VI.

May 9, 1726.—The pallenkeen house which was covered with Thatch having been several times burnt down and that frequent rebuilding of it having Amounted to as much as the value of a Brick house,

Ordered that Mr. John Sainsbury Lloyd Buxey doe build one of Brick as cheap as possible.

October 10, 1726.—The Godowns at the Embassador's house[1] being much out of Repair and wanting to be new Covered,

Agreed that the Buxey do new Cover them and give them a thorough Repair.

April 17, 1727.—The room at the end of the long Row[2] wanting to be new covered,

Ordered that the Buxie do new cover it.

132. Account of the Dock in 1726.

Extract from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, January 28, 1727. Paragraphs 90 and 91. Coast and Bay Abstracts, K, 78.

90. The Dock has layn empty the last Year, none but large Ships use it and the Charge of emptying it &c[a] is considerable, President Hedges design was good but should have laid a good Foundation and have made flood Gates, if can make it commodious will be at some Expence on it, the Charge has been 500 Rupees on each Ship besides the Company's Duty.

91. The 9th May order'd a Pallankeen house to be built of Brick being often burnt down while cover'd with Straw.

[1] A year later the Ambassador's house, which stood at the corner of Lāl Bāzār and Mission Row, was taken for the use of the Mayor's Court. In the first volume of the *Mayor's Court Proceedings*, December 16, 1727, to December 20, 1728, the heading of the first page runs: 'Courts held at the Ambassador's House.'

[2] The long row was the range of single-storied buildings which divided the fort into two sections.

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133. Comments by the Court on recent Repairs and Buildings.

Extract from Letters from the Court to Bengal. London, February 17, 1727. *Paragraphs* 37-40. *Letter Book No.* 20.

37. You tell Us that you have resolved to apply the Money collected by the Zemindar for measuring Ground and giving new Pottahs (which had not yet been brought in to any Account) for rebuilding the Out houses fallen down at Perrins Garden of Pucca and repairing the Bridges and Roads which had been much damaged by the heavy rains, and to Secure the Bank at Chuttanuttee, The River having encreased on that part of the Town, this is for so far well, We have heard that the Town is in great danger by the Rivers eating into the Bank, so that the sooner that work is don the better, and as represented to Us ought to have been taken in time when first discover'd to gullup away the Ground, and the rather as the Stream is so very rapid there, for no one knows what may be the Consequence of a neglect in not stopping the first approaches of Water breaches, and what will be the charge if not taken in time, Therefore you will do well at all times to guard securely against such impending Evils at the first appearance, and to repair substantially whatever stands in need of it.

38. As to rebuilding the Houses at Perrins you ought to have explained to Us why they were to be don at our Charge, for till then We cant judge with any certainty whether We should or should not consent thereto.

39. We shall not at this time object to the repairing of the Bridges and Roads, but at Fort St. George the Inhabitants are at the Charge of Building and Repairing theirs, And We hope you will take care in future to engage the Inhabitants to contribute thereto, for though all was don at our Charge in the Infancy of the Settlement, there is not the same reason it should always be so.

40. We were surpriz'd to read in the Account you give in justification of Mr. Surman,[1] That our Money (For so we reckon

[1] John Surman was the chief of the Embassy to Delhi in 1714-17 which gained important concessions from Farrukhsiyar. He was elected writer on December 20, 1706. One of his two securities—John Surman, citizen and coachmaker of

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all Fines to be) should be laid out by him without any Order of Council, We look on it as a fault that those Fines were not brought to Account of Revenues and accordingly paid into our Cash, to tell Us that it was laid out by Agreement of Council though no publick Entry made thereof is what we can never approve of, but do utterly dislike and forbid for the future, all Determinations at the Council board ought to be enter'd in Consultation, which should contain a true and full Account of all Transactions in our Affairs, and We expect they do so in all times coming, That We may judge of them, Whereas clandestine Proceedings are a plain indication they will not bear the light, It is not the first time We have complained of your Consultations not being so full with Relation to our Affairs as they ought to be, let it be so no more, The Letter calls the Money laid out a small Charge, though it is own'd to be Rupees 3668 and after that Rupees 3184 for the Road to Perrins Garden, expended as you say on the good of the Towns and health of the People, had it been much less you ought to have had our leave for it, Nor do's this first Summ appear to Us to be a common benefit for every body but only in particular or at least chiefly to Mr. Surman to gratify his humour (and what the other is seems to Us doubtful)

London—was probably his father (see Court Book). He took his passage on the *Dutchess*, and arrived in Bengal August 19, 1707 (see my *English in Bengal*, II., i. 205). On January 30, 1710, he was sent up to Patna (see my *English in Bengal*, I., 327). On April 19, 1712, he was taken into the Council at Patna, though 'not quite out of his Writership, yet very Sufficiently qualified to give his Advice and everyway fit to Assist . . . these troublesome times' (see my *English in Bengal*, II., i. 53). On January 5, 1714, he was appointed chief of the Embassy to Delhi (*ibid.*, 153), which he conducted with ability and strict integrity. At the conclusion of the embassy he resigned the service and returned to England, considering it impossible to revert to a subordinate station after holding so high a position at Delhi. The Court in 1721 reappointed him to their service, and made him a member of the Council at Fort William, Bengal (see Court Book). His father at this time appears to have been dead. John Surman himself died at Calcutta in 1724, and was buried August 28. His will, dated July 1, 1724, and proved in Council on August 31, mentions his mother Susanna, and his three sisters, Elizabeth and Susanna, spinsters, and Mrs. Ann Warrington, and his cousin Joseph Lawson (see Consultations Book). His garden was at Kidderpore, beyond the Company's bounds, three miles and a half from the fort (see a letter from the Council to the Dutch at Hugli in the Consultations Book, August 10, 1724). The road, of which the Court here complain, led to this garden over what is now Kidderpore Bridge. The proceedings complained of are recorded in the Consultations for July 26 and August 23, 1725.

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Were he living he should be made to reimburse Us because don without any visible Authority, We cant admit of a general say so, that the Council agreed to it when We find no Entry to prove it, And by the Circumstances It seems the Money was laid out first, and the Agreement (if any was desired) was afterwards, Let Us have no more such management.

134. More Repairs and New Stairs along Shore.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Monday, March 6, 1727, *and Monday, January* 1, 1728. *Range I., Vol. VI.*

Factory Godowns to be repaired.

March 6, 1727.—The Godowns belonging to the Factory by the River side being much out of repair,

Ordered that the Buxey do repair them.

New Stairs to be built along Shore.

The Town being Wharfing along shore and there being severall places for Stairs belonging to the Honourable Company between severall Houses.

Ordered that the Buxie do build Stairs and what else is necessary along shore, and that what places are let out be on Account the Honourable Company in order to reimburse them the Charges they may be at.

Muster of the Beams in the Factory House to be sent Home.

January 1, 1728.—The President having ordered the Joiner to examine the Beams in the Consultation Room and other Rooms of the Factory house, he now laid before this Board some Pieces taken out of the ends of the Beams in the Wall and all the ends of the Beams being as bad or worse in the Walls.

Agreed that we Send in the Packets to our Honourable Masters a Muster of the same that they may see the absolute necessity there is to new cover the Factory House.

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135. Account of Buildings in 1727.

Extract from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, January 28, 1728. *Paragraphs* 103-110. *Coast and Bay Abstracts, K*, 78.

103. The River having gain'd on some of the Company's Towns, last year agreed every one that wharfed before his own Door might build Warehouse thereon, which took Effect. Send an Account of all wharffs in Calcutta amounts to 5000 Foot of Pucca Building, done with small Charge to the Company.

104. In Consultation 6th March agreed to build Stairs, the Expence last year amounted to Rupees 3000, believe will expend about as much this Year, will have due regard to 40th Paragraph of the Company's Letter, not to lay out Money without good reasons.

106. Will be very watchfull of Chuttanuttee Banks to secure it, also the Ground before Perrins, taking Care to expend as little as possible, are making a Pucca Slip at Perrins to secure the Banks and carry the Rapidness of the Stream from Chuttanuttee.

107. Have deferr'd rebuilding the Outhouses at Perrins Garden having employ'd the Money design'd for that Use in repairing the Roads, making Bridges and enclosing the Plain before the Fort, hope the Company wont think it an unnecessary Charge in repairing the Outhouses being at times useful for their Servants and military it may amount to £350 Sterling.

108. The Inhabitants contribute to the mending the Roads and repairing the Bridges.

109. Send by the *Mountague, Lethieullier* & *Bridgwater* Samples of the Beams that support their Terrasses, which to Outward Appearance seem firm but are very rotten within, had they proper Timbers would immediately set about their Reparation. In Consultation 1st January have agreed to send Sloops to Pegu to fetch Teak Timber for repairing their Factory.

110. Several of their Godowns and Warehouses want new Covering, at present they support the Beams with Propps, and as soon as have Materials will repair them.

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136. Comments by the Court on Accounts, Buildings, and the Vice of Gaming.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, February 14, 1728. *Paragraphs* 31, 41, 57, 61, *and* 74. *Letter Book No.* 21.

31. It was no small Surprize to Us to read that Abdul Ryheim ['Abdur Raḥīm] should make such a demand on you on the Subahs Account as Rupees Forty-four thousand to be paid as an encrease of Rent for our Towns for the Twelve Years past, because he had raised the Rents of other Towns about him in his Jaggeer, We have perused your Letters wrote to Cassimbuzar of the 14th and 20th December on this Subject and approve their Contents, That we had the grant of these Towns long before Jaffer Caun was Subah, That we have constantly paid the yearly Piscash to the Mogul and the Rents Settled for the said Towns as they became due, which will appear in the King's Books, that We conceive he has nothing more to do with them than to receive said Rents when due, that We have done nothing to deserve such Injurious Treatment, and therefore you conclude very justly that you cannot part with a Rupee of our Money on such an unreasonable demand, We shall be extreamly sorry if the Nabob will persist, and do hope this demand will be dropt, but if not, We cant see that your further resolution of stopping the Port is wrong, for We cannot submit tamely to anything which strikes at the taking away the Priviledges granted and continued to Us time out of mind by the Predecessors of his present Imperial Majesty, We hope the Subah will at last think better, and not force you to interrupt the Trade of the Country by bringing matters to extremity, but if he should You must do the best you can and show your Faces to fortune, first giving the Kings Duhoy[1] at least at Hugly to justify the necessity of endeavouring to do your Selves right, We wish you a good deliverance out of this unhappy Affair.

41. We observe your reasons for Building the Pallanken House of Brick and allowing a Brick Godown to be built at Futua[2] to to secure our Saltpetre against the danger of Fire which so

[1] i.e., crying for the King's justice, *duhāī denā*.

[2] Fatūhā, about fourteen miles south-east of Patna.

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frequently happens, this appearing to Us to be rightly judged We find no fault therewith.

57. We have consider'd your 119th Paragraph which mentions several of your new Muskets bursting when fired at the Entertainment of the French Governour and Council, You did well to send Us the Report made by the Master of Arms on his Surveying those not then used with the Makers Names, We take the best Care We can to have all the Muskets We buy first proved here, and you may see the Proof Mark upon the Barrels, The Person through whose hands all the Muskets for the Kings Service Pass here also examins all ours, and those which he approves and passes he likewise Marks with his Stamp, as to the Complaint that many of the Barrels are old Musket Barrels new Vampt, the Gunsmiths possitively deny it, and say it is impossible to put old for new without being very easily discovered, What We now send We hope will prove good, if any should not, let Us know of whose making You find any defective, By what Ships they come, and the Number of the Chest, but take care the Muskets are not overcharged for the best Pieces may be burst thereby.

61. Inclosed We send you Copy of His Majesty's Grant to this Company of all the Fines that may hereafter be imposed by the Court of Justice on Offenders in Criminal Cases, so that if any should happen, We direct that they be paid into our Cash and apply'd to our Account.

74. We are greatly concerned to hear that the mischievous Vice of Gaming continues, and even encreases amongst our Covenant Servants, Free Merchants and others residing at our Settlements in India for great Summs of Money, and that the Women are also infected therewith, by which means many Persons have been ruin'd as well on board Ship as on Shore, of this there are several flagrant Instances, By Act of Parliament all Gaming here for above Ten Pounds value is strictly prohibited under severe Penaltys, That We may do what in Us lyes to prevent the Evils which sooner or later generally attend all Gamesters and frequently proves their ruin, We do hereby peremptorily forbid all manner of Gaming whatsoever in any of our Settlements or elsewhere in India to the Amount of Ten

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Pounds or upwards, and do direct that if any of our Covenant Servants or others in our Employ whether Civil, Maritine, or Military or any Free Merchants under our Protection shall ever be discover'd to have plaid at any Sort of Game for the Value of Ten Pounds Sterling or upwards at a Time, and be thereof convicted before You by two Credible Witnesses (which Witnesses We require you shall always be ready to admit and hear them) such Offender be he who he will and in what Station soever shall be ipso facto dismist the Companys Service, and sent home by the first Shipping, as likewise all Free Merchants, and all Women Marry'd or Unmarry'd whether belonging to Our Covenant Servants or others under Our Protection, the same We say for all such Offenders belonging to the English Shipping employ'd in the Countrey, and to those to and from Europe, if any of them be guilty of the same fault either committed on board of their Ships or on Shore, that you shall give Us particular Information of such Offenders with all the Circumstances of the Crimes that We may dismiss them the Company's Service at their return home.

137. Survey of Fort William and Hospital.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Thursday, October 3, *Friday, October* 24, *and Tuesday, December* 17, 1728. *Range I., Vol. VI.*

Survey of Fort William.

October 3.—The whole Works and Garrison of Fort William, as well as the Lodgings, seeming to be very much out of Repair,

Ordered, That Captain Thomas Snow, Master of Attendance, and John Alofe,[1] do take a carefull Survey of the Same, and deliver in their Report in Writing.

October 24.—Captain Thomas Snow, Master of Attendance, and John Alofe, having (pursuant to an Order in Consultation the 3rd Inst.) surveyed the whole Garrison and Works of Fort

[1] John Aloffe, Alofze, Olifze, Oliffe, or Olifres (the name is written in all these various ways), appears constantly in the records for the next eighteen years in connection with the Company's buildings. He is the joint author with Forresti of the two early plans of Calcutta now in the British Museum. He died in July, 1745, while Surveyor of Works (see extract 193).

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William, also the Lodgings, now delivered in their Report of the Same.

ORDERED, That it be entered after this Consultation.

Copy of the Report.

TO THE HONOURABLE JOHN DEANE, ESQ.,[1] PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOR OF FORT WILLIAM, &C^a, COUNCIL.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

In Obedience to your Commands We have taken a Carefull Survey, not only of the Lodgings, but of the Whole Works and Garrison of Fort William and find the Whole to be very much out of Repair; there being several Cracks in the Walls, Brick Work wanting in many Places, and Plaister Work almost all over. We cannot be Judges of the particular Quantity of Materials proper for its Reperation, till the Workmen shall have made a more narrow Search.

Notwithstanding a Report went Home to the Honourable Company of the Badness of the Beams, We think it our Duty to acquaint you that those of the Rooms at the End of the Long Row, and the Armory, are so rotton and bad, that they will certainly fall in, if not forthwith repaired: And also, that if other Reparations are not ordered this Season, the Honourable Company will be great Sufferers thereby. We are with the greatest Respect,

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your most Obedient Humble Servants,

THOMAS SNOW.
JOHN ALOFE.

CALCUTTA,
The 7th October, 1728.

Hospital to be surveyed.

December 17.—Mr. Charles Hampton, Buxey, acquainting us that the Hospital is very much out of Repair,

ORDERED, That Captain Thomas Snow, Master of Attendance, and John Aloffe, do take a carefull Survey of the Same, and deliver their Report, in Writing, to this Board.

138. AMBASSADOR'S HOUSE TO BE THE TOWN HALL. CORPORATION TO BE ASSESSED.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Thursday, January 2, 1729. *Range I., Vol. VI.*

There being wanting a proper Place to hold the Mayor's Court, as well as a Court of Oyer and Terminer, and to make a Town Goal,

[1] John Deane became Governor of Fort William in Bengal for the second time, September 18, 1728.

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AGREED, That the Ambassador's House and Compound be appropriated for that Service; and that a Tax be levied on the Inhabitants of this Place to pay the same.

139. ACCOUNT OF FORTIFICATIONS AND BUILDINGS.

Extract from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, February 2, 1729. *Paragraphs* 79-81 *and* 98. *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received from July* 31, 1728, *to February* 18, 1734. *Range K*, 79.

79. Report of the Survey of the Buildings of the Garrison &c[a] entered after Consultation 24th October by which it appears they are in a bad condition.

80. Two of the Brick Godowns at the Corner of the Factory were falling down, gave Leave to rebuild them.

81. Agreed in Consultation 2nd January to buy the Company's House called the Ambassadors to hold the Mayors Court &c[a] in, giving 6480 rupees for it as it stands on the Company's Books, and that a Tax be levy'd on the Town to pay for it, as well as to build a Goal for the Security of Prisoners, by the Patent the Amercements and Fines are to be paid the Company, they are obliged to place the necessary Expences of the several Courts to the Company's Account.

98. Have set on foot a Charity School and for that purpose raised 23709 rs. 12 a. 3 p. & appointed the President & Council for the time being to be Trustees.

140. OBSERVATIONS BY THE COURT TOUCHING BUILDINGS

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. Fort William, February 21, 1729. *Paragraphs* 38-40 *and* 49.

38. We are informed by your next Paragraph the method you took to induce the Inhabitants to Wharf before their Doors, and We are very glad to find the success you have had in this Undertaking, observing by the Account sent Us of all the Pucca Wharfs then standing amounting to Five thousand six hundred and fifty nine Feet, which as you say We believe must be of great Security to the Town and though this piece of Work must have no doubt cost a large Summe, yet by your good Management it has been but a very small Expence to Us, which renders it the more acceptable

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and deserving Our Approbation, We likewise approve the Resolution in your Consultation of the 6th March of building Stairs to some of the Wharfs and what necessary to be done along Shore, also securing the Banks at Chittanute and the Ground before Perrins, to render them as firm and substantial as possible you can, not doubting you'l be mindful of your promise of due regard to the 40th Paragraph of Our Letter of the 17th February 1726, [1727] and put Us to no more Expence than absolutely necessary.

39. You desire Our Consent to rebuild the Out Houses at Perrins Garden with Offices and Conveniencys there for the use of Our Servants and Military when placed as an Out Guard, We observe you reckon the Charge may amount to Three hundred and fifty Pounds Sterling or Three or four thousand Rupees, as this is the only Garden House that belongs to Us,[1] We are willing you should have what Conveniencys are needful, hoping that may be done at much less Charge than you propose.

40. We find the necessity you was under to new Cover Our Factory by the Samples of the Beams sent Us by the *Bridgewater* &c[a] to convince Us of their defect and rottenness, though some of them may be so, yet We hope the greatest part are not near so bad, and that they will be serviceable in the Reparation of said Building for if they cant be useful for one part they may for another We cant but allow of this necessary Work, as well as repairing the Godowns and Warehouse you mention, as likewise an upper Room to the Banksaul House at Ballasore, if you find that will better answer the End than a new Flagg Staff, provided that all this be done with the utmost Frugality in every Article of the Expence.

49. We take notice by your 129th Paragraph of the Death of Captain Henry Cave your former Gunner and Master of Attendance, and that you had appointed Captain Thomas Snow to succeed him, We are glad to hear the good Character you give him, and therefore confirm your Choice, We are sorry to hear the bad Circumstances Captain Cave died in, and are surpriz'd to hear his Debts amount to so considerable a Summe as upwards of One hundred thousand Rupees.

[1] In their letter to Bengal, dated January 29, 1724, the Court complained of the charge of *three* gardens at Calcutta, and said *two* were enough.

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141. INCREASED ACCOMMODATION.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Saturday, March 8, *Monday, August* 4, *Monday, September* 8, *and Friday, December* 5, 1729. *Range I., Vol. VIII.*

Veranda to be built.

March 8.—Being very much straitned for Room, which often makes us backward in our Business,

AGREED That a Varanda[1] be built before the Import and Export Godowns and that the Arches of the Banksall Godown in the Factory be filled up with Doors and Windows in order to make it fitt to lodge Bales in.

Buildings to be purchased.

August 4.—Being in Want of a convenient place for making of Chints, and there being a parcell of Buildings offer'd for Sale for seventeen hundred Rupees, which are not only cheap but proper for that Purpose,

AGREED that we do purchase the same Account the Honourable Company.[2]

Outhouses at Perrin's and Stairs at the Wharf to be built.

September 8.—The Honourable Company having in their General Letter of the 21st February, 1728-29 per Ship *Eyles* permitted us to build Out houses with offices and Conveniences at Perrins Garden, As also to build Stairs to some of the Wharfs and what necessary to be done along Shore, and the securing the Banks at Chuttanutte.

AGREED That it be done accordingly with the utmost frugality.

Main Guard Timbers to be surveyed.

December 5.—The timbers to the Main Guard being rotten and ready to fall in,

ORDERED That a survey be taken of them.

[1] This veranda was about 26 feet broad and 120 feet long. It was built in the south-eastern angle of the Fort, and to some extent obstructed the way to the south-eastern bastion.

[2] The plan of Calcutta, by Wells, in 1753, shows the calicoe printers on the south side of the park, next to Mr. Bellamy's house. On September 13, 1773, the Council resolved to sell the old houses and the ground to John Prinsep for Rs. 11,900.

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142. The Court sanction Repairs to the Buildings in the Fort, and the Establishment of the Charity School.

Extracts from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, January 23, 1730. *Paragraphs* 38 *and* 41. *Letter Book No.* 21.

38. As there was a necessity of new covering Our Factory House, We are pleased with the Method you took in sending two of our Sloops to Pegu at a time when you could spare them to fetch Timbers and Elephants Teeth from thence, the first for that Service, and the latter for Sale, We observe by the Account as you have stated it in your General Letter, that it will be a saving to Us in the Article of Timber, and as you write Us, that upon a Survey taken by Thomas Snow Master of Attendance and John Aloffe Carpenter, it appears that the Buildings of the Garrison, Factory House &c^{a} are in a very bad Condition for want of a timely care, and as you say there is an unavoidable Necessity for their being repaired, We would therefore have you set about it, and to take great care that the Work be substantially done with as much Frugality as the thing will bear.

41. We observe you had set on foot a Charity School, and had rais'd towards its maintenance the Summ of Rupees 23709 . 12 . 3 that your Design therein was to educate the great Number o European Children in the Protestant Religion, a very laudable Undertaking, wherein We wish you good Success.

143. Account of Buildings in 1729.

Extract from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, February 11, 1730. *Paragraphs* 76, 83, *and* 85. *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received*, 1725-34, *K*, 79.

76. Their Factory House being every Season pester'd with the Merchants Goods, agreed in Consultation 8th March to build a Veranda to put their Bales in after they are packt, and as they design to make as many Chints as they can, and wanting a place for the people to work in, agreed in Consultation 14th August to purchase a parcel of Buildings for Rupees 1700 which two years ago cost Mr. Frankland 4800.

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83. Thankful for the Liberty for building Offices and Conveniencys at Perrins Garden.

85. As nothing has been done toward securing the Banks by Chutta Nuttee since July 1728, have set about that necessary piece of Work.

144. BUILDINGS IN 1730.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Monday, March 2, and Monday, May 11, 1730. Range I., Vol. VIII.

The repairing of the Roads to be paid for.

March 2.—The Repairing the Roads Bridges and Drains, amounting to Rupees Seven thousand nine hundred and ninety nine fifteen Annas,

ORDER'D That the Inhabitants of Calcutta pay the Sum of Five thousand Rupees and the Honourable Company the remainder.

Salt Petre Godown to be secured.

May 11.—Mr. Richard Bourchier Export Warehouse Keeper acquainting us that the Salt Petre Godown is very much out of repair,

ORDER'D That Mr. Charles Hampton Buxey do take care to secure it for the present and that it be thoroughly repair'd after the rains.

Hospital to be secured.

Captain Thomas Snow now brought in his Report of the Hospital,

ORDER'D That the Buxey do secure it for the present and that it be thoroughly repaired after the rains and the reports enter'd after this Consultation.

Captain Thomas Snow now gave in his Report of Govindpore and Chuttanutte,

ORDER'D that it be enter'd after this Consultation.

Report of Chuttanutte and Govindpore.

TO THE HONOURABLE JOHN DEANE, ESQ., PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOR, ETC., COUNCIL OF BENGALL.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

Pursuant to an order of Consultation Dated the 13th ultimo, We have survey'd the Banks of the River near Chutanuttee and Govindpore and are of

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opinion it will be proper for the preservation of that part of [the town] towards Chuttanuttee to make a Bridge across the Road between Seats [Seths'] Garden and Perrins by which means great quantity of Water will be carried to the back of the town which otherwise will endamage much of the Banks and many Houses; As to that part towards Govindpore We find the River to have gain'd so much, that it will be necessary to move the high Artificial Bank ten or twenty yards further in in some places where the Tide rises with the greatest force, Which We apprehend will be the most likely means of preserving the whole.

We are, &c[a],
THOMAS SNOW.
JOHN ALOFFE.

CALCUTTA,
11th May, 1730.

Report of the Hospital.

TO THE HONOURABLE JOHN DEANE, ESQ., &C[a].

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

Pursuant to an order of Council of the 4th Instant We have survey'd the Hospital and find all the Beams and most of the Window and Door frames Rotten, insomuch that We apprehend that the Roof will be in danger of falling in next rains unless timely prevented by shoring all the Beams.

We are, &c[a],
THOMAS SNOW.
JOHN ALOFFE.

145. SLOW PROGRESS IN 1730.

Extract from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, February 10, 1731. *Paragraphs* 103-105 *and* 156. *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K.* 79.

103. Not having Teak Timbers Factory house not as yet repair'd.

104. Repairing Roads, Bridges and Drains Amounted to Rupees 7999 . 15 whereof the Merchants paid 5000 as order'd but it rais'd a Clamour.

105. Stairs and a Wharf to secure the Banks by Chutanuttee not finish'd.

156. No assessment as yet made for the Town hall, Company not as yet paid for the Embassador's House as such it being old and weak, the Justices having order'd the Inhabitants to be assessed for to build a Goal and Townhall it shall be paid for, the Inhabitants think it a hardship to bear the whole Burthen and

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the Company bear no Share, desisted as yet from assessing for that Reason, if necessary for the Company to bear a part hope it will be approv'd.

146. The Court approve of the New Veranda and the New Buildings for Chintz.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, February 12, 1731. *Paragraph* 47. *Letter Book No.* 22.

47. To your 76th Paragraph We approve of your Building a Veranda before your Godowns for the purposes therein mention'd, as well as of the purchase you have made of a Parcel of Buildings for Seventeen hundred Rupees, in order for setting more hands to work to make Chints within your own bounds, these are Expences that we shall never grudge provided the Fruits are answerable to our Expectations.

147. Buildings in 1731.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Monday, March 29, *Tuesday, April* 20, *and Thursday, September* 9, 1731. *Range I., Vol. VIII.*

Buzar by Perrins.

March 29.—There being a proper place for a Buzar near Perrins Garden, and as we are informed will bring in a good Revenue to the Honourable Company, if a road and Ditches were made to it,

Agreed that the Jemindar do make them.

Report of Salt Petre Godown.[1]

April 20.—Mr. Thos. Gregory Warren now delivered in his Report of the Salt Petre Godown.

Order'd that it be enter'd after this Consultation.

To the Honourable John Deane, Esq., &c[a].

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

In pursuance to your Honours, &c[a], Orders I have Survey'd the Honourable Companys Salt Petre Godown and find it in the following Condition :

The walls are cas'd round with pucker the Inside Chutcher [*kachchā*], but

[1] In the plan of Calcutta by Wells, in 1753, the saltpetre godown is shown a little to the north of the fort in Clive Street, where it bends towards the river

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much burrow'd with Rats, Over the Doors and Windows are large hollows, the Cutcher Earth being penetrated by the Nitrious Particles of the Salt Petre and is moulder'd away from the Pucker work, I humbly conceive that by filling up the Cavities with Cutcher (the whole Godown being cas'd with Pucker) and raising the Walls two foot for the Support of the Beams, will render it so as to continue for many Years, and fitt for immediate use as soon as repair'd.

I have also according to your Honours, &c^{a}, Orders Survey'd the Beams in the Factory, and on Examining into several of them find them to be decay'd in the Walls which if not taken down ought to be immediately shor'd up.

I am, &c^{a},

THOMAS GREGORY WARREN.

CALCUTTA,
The 20th Aprill, 1731.

Companys House to be sold.

September 9.—ORDERED That the Honourable Companys House commonly called the Ambassadours be sold on Thursday next.

148. OBSERVATIONS BY THE COURT TOUCHING BUILDINGS AND REVENUES.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, February 11, 1732. *Paragraphs* 91-93, 101, *and* 106. *Letter Book No.* 22.

91. We approve Your not entering upon the Repair of the Factory House till all Materials are ready, and when you go upon it, be mindful of Our Orders which We have so often repeated upon this head, and finding in Consultation of the 11th May, that Captain Snow on a Survey of the Hospitall found all the Beams and most of the Windows and Door Frames rotten, the Order made thereupon was right thoroughly to repair it after the Rains, but We dont find any Report enter'd of the Saltpetre Godown as mention'd in the 103d Paragraph.

92. Repairing the Roads Bridges and Drains being a publick benefit to all the Inhabitants in General, the Merchants might well grumble at being charg'd so great a Share of it, and why We should be saddled with the Remainder, We can see no reason, an equitable Assessment upon all the Housekeepers in proportion to the Value of their respective Tenements had certainly been the right Method to prevent all clamours.

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93. Although the Work of securing the Banks by Chittanuttee was not finish'd, an Account might easily have been sent Us what had been expended thereupon, but We are apprehensive that making Stairs and a Wharf were found ineffectual, for by a Report of Captain Snow's entered after Consultation of the 11th May, he is of Opinion that a Bridge and raising the Banks ten or twenty Yards are necessary to preserve the whole, but no Order being made on reading the said Report, We are at a loss for the Measures taken thereupon.

101. We are pleased to find that notwithstanding Repairs are Monthly made of the Factory House, Cloth Godown, Long Row and other Buildings, yet they are kept in a tolerable Compass, and continue to take due care to keep them under, Reparations and Petty Charges placed Monthly under Military Expences amounting to Rupees 5680 is a very great Summ, and by a frugal Management might surely be lessened.

106. It is surprizing to Us to find by the 156th Paragraph that the Inhabitants of Calcutta should think it a hardship to be assessed for a Sum of Money to build a Goal and Town Hall after an order was made by the Justices for so doing, and especially perceiving by the Registers of the Mayors Court, that they are so fond of bringing all manner of Causes thither, as not to end any by Arbitration, nor to have them decided by the Jemindar as formerly, whereby our Revenues are considerably diminished, and therefore notwithstanding it is urged, that We are the Lords Proprietors of the Land, We can't be of Opinion that it is equitable any part of the said Expence should be placed to Our Account.

149. Account of the Buildings in 1731.[1]

Extract from Abstract of a General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, February 25, 1732. *Paragraphs* 97, 99, 101, 129, *and* 130. *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K.* 79.

97. The account of making the Stairs and Wharf by Chutanuttee now sent which consists of 1037 feet 11 inches in length, and cost 8373 rs. 11 a. 3 p.

[1] The last year of the second administration of John Deane. On February 25, 1732, John Stackhouse assumed charge of the government of Calcutta.

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99. Their Saltpetre Godown being much out of Repair, have ordered it to be new covered.

101. Have sold the House commonly called the Embassadour's for 3560 Rupees, reserving out of it a large peice of Ground with Brick Buildings for a Town Goal.

129. Finding the Embassadour's House very old and not proper for a Townhall and Goal, sold it at public Outcry as mentioned in the 101st Paragraph of this Letter, for the Ground and Brick Buildings to build a Goal on, the Company will be paid Two hundred Rupees.

130. The Company bears no share of the Assessment excepting a few Fines which are appropriated to that use amounting to Rupees 1990.

150. Report of the Ground between Perrin's Garden and Sutanuti.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Monday, April 10, 1732. *Range I., Vol. VIII.*

Thomas Gregory Warren and John Aloff now delivered in their Report of the Ground between Perrins Garden and Soota Loota.

Order'd that it be enter'd after this Consultation and the Ground secur'd when the Season will permit.

To the Honourable John Stackhouse, Esq., &c[a].

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Pursuant to Your Orders we have been to Survey the Ground between Perrins Garden and Soota Loota and find it absolutely necessary that in Severall Places it should be Wharfed; But the Season is so far Advanced, and the Rains so near at hand, that, it is our Humble Opinion it will be in vain to attempt that Piece of Work till the Rainy Season is over, However we shall do our utmost endeavours to prevent any Damage happening in the mean time.

We are, &c[a],

Thomas Gregory Warren.
John Aloffe.

Calcutta,
The 10 *April*, 1732.

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151. Account of Buildings in 1732.

Extract from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, January 16, 1733. *Paragraphs* 107-109 *and* 113. *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K.* 79.

107. Having met with 100 Teak Timber[s], shall set about covering the upper Roof of the Factory House, Saltee timbers will do for the lower.

108. The assessment on the black Inhabitants for the Townhall and Goal, has made them uneasy as they contributed largely to the Roads and Bridges, have therefore been obliged to do that this year at the Company's Expence.

109. Some Places in the Wharf wanting to be secured, they ordered a Survey to be made, the report is entered after Consultation 10th April.

113. Shall take care that no other Expence shall accrue to the Company for what may be further wanted for the Townhall and Goal.

152. Observations by the Court on the Buildings in 1731.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, February 6, 1733. *Paragraphs* 83 *and* 84. *Letter Book No.* 22.

83. As the Stairs and Wharf by Cuttanuttee is represented to be so necessary for the Preservation of that part of the Town, We are glad to find they are finish'd, though the Expence was so considerable, We are somewhat surpriz'd that nothing has been done to the Factory House, perceiving by the Consultations, that it was in such a bad Condition, Our late President could not reside in it, and by the Cash Book it appears that Two thousand four hundred Rupees were paid him for Twelve Months House Rent, which seems to be too great a sum, we would therefore have you by all means set about repairing the said Factory House, and make it Tenantable as soon as possible, that our President's Ordinary Residence may be there.

84. We approve of your new Covering the Godowns, as well as enlarging those at Patna, and likewise your Conduct as to the

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Embassadors House, and direct that all the Warehouses be kept in constant Repair, that thereby the Goods may not be liable to Damage.

153. BUILDINGS IN 1733.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, February 19, *April* 30, *May* 7, *and August* 13, 1733. *Range I., Vol. VII.*

Bridges to be repaired.

February 19.—There being some Bridges by Govindpoor and in other places blown up the last Rains,

ORDER'D that Mr. Thomas Coates Buxey repair them.

Report of Govindpore Point surveyed.

April 30.—Thomas Greggory Warren and John Aloffe now brought in their Report of Govindpoor Point.

ORDERED that it be Entered after this Consultation and that a new bank be Thrown up to Secure the Point.

TO THE HONOURABLE JOHN STACKHOUSE, ESQ., &c[a].

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

Pursuant to Your Honourable, &c[a], Orders we have been and Survey'd Govindpoor Point, and find by the Rapidity of the Ebb and Flud to have eat a great part of the Bank away, Its Our humble Opinion, That there is no way of Securing it but by making a bank some distance within the Old bank, which may Prevent the Gunge from being carryed away in the Rains.

We are, &c[a],

THOMAS G. WARREN.
JOHN ALLOFF.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 30*th April*, 1733.

New Catcherry to be built.

May 7.—The Old Catcherry [*kachahrī*][1] which was built of all Bamboo and Straw and being fallen down and having Cost a great deal of Mony to Repair every Year,

AGREED that a Substantial One be built of Brick for the Jemindars Business[2] and that no New One be hereafter built.

[1] i.e., office.

[2] i.e., the Calcutta collectorate.

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Outgates to be repaired.

August 13.—There being severall Murders and Robberies committed in the Town and the People making their Escape by reason of the Outgates being out of Repair.

AGREED that they be repair'd.

154. ACCOUNT OF BUILDINGS IN 1733.

Extract from Abstract of a General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, December 26, 1733. *Paragraphs* 76-78. *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K,* 79.

76. Having met with proper Teak Timbers, have begun covering the Factory House, and shall take Care to have it compleated as soon as possible that the president may live in it himself.

77. The Powder Magazine being under one of the Bastions had been in danger of being blown up, have therefore agreed to build a substantial one, in a more convenient Place for 1200 Rupees.

78. Have made a new convenient Catcherry of Brick for the use of the Zemindar for Rupees 1836.1.3 the old one being unfit for the purpose.

155. OBSERVATIONS BY THE COURT ON CALCUTTA BUILDINGS IN 1731, 1732.

Extracts from General Letters from the Court to Bengal. London, January 29, 1734 (*paragraphs* 69 *and* 70), *and January* 31, 1735 (*paragraph* 45). *Letter Book No.* 23.

January 29, 1734.—69. The Factory House has lain a long time untenantable and the repairing it but slowly carried on, but as We directed last Year that it should be made fit with all speed for our President to reside in, and it appears by the 107th Paragraph You were supply'd with Teak and Saltee Timbers, We expect to be advised in your next Letters it is finish'd, that We may no longer be charg'd such an unreasonable Sum as Two thousand four hundred Rupees per Annum House Rent for the President.

70. In the 108th Paragraph You tell us that you were obliged to repair the Roads and Bridges at our Expence, because the Black Merchants would have reckon'd it Oppression if any thing had been levied on them so soon after their Assessment to the Town Hall and Goal, but admitting they would, should not the

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White Inhabitants bear a Share, and We expect that for the future you find out some Method to ease Us of that and all other Burthens, which ought to be bore by those who reside under our Protection.

January 31, 1735.—45. The Factory House has been a long while Repairing, and as to the Powder Magazine you should have been more Explicit in your Advices relating thereto, and in particular as to the Place where it is Scituated.

156. Account of the Buildings in 1734.

Extracts from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. For William, January 24, 1735. *Paragraphs* 97, 98, *and* 105. *Coast and Bay Abstracts, K*, 80.

97. Three quarters of the Factory House is new cover'd, shall begin uncovering the other part as soon as their Cottah[1] business is over, the Dutch and French building at the same time has raised the price of all Materials. The President will reside in the Factory as soon as his Apartments are finished.

98. The white Inhabitants as well as the black were assess'd for the Goal and Townhall, as the Roads are of great use for the better Convenience of Cattle bringing provisions to the Markets.

105. The Courts recommending their converting Ground made use of for Gardens into Habitations for Weavers and other such useful Inhabitants, thought it for the Company's advantage to purchase some peices of Ground; The vacant Spots they fill'd up without being at any Expence.

157. Buildings in 1735.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Wednesday, March 26, *Monday, September* 8, *and Sunday, November* 29, 1735. *Range I., Vol. VII.*

Building on the Hospital.

March 26.—It being necessary for one of the Doctors to reside at the Hospital for the Attendance of the Sick,

Agreed that We build a Couple of upper Rooms and a Shop for the Medicines at one of the Ends of the Hospitall.

[1] i.e., *koṭhā*, warehouse.

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Companys Wharf to be survey'd.

September 8.—Some of the Companys Wharfs having fallen in thro' the violence of the Freshes, occasioned by the heavy Rains,

ORDERED that two of the Board with two Europe Captains and Mr. Zechariah Gee Master of Attendance Survey the same and give in their Report.

Report of Soota Loota Point.

November 29.—Mr. Richard Eyre Buxey now delivered in the Report of Soota Loota Point.

ORDERED that it be entered after this Consultation, and that the Buxey repair Soota Loota Point and make use of what other means may be necessary for the Security of that Part of the Town.

TO THE HONOURABLE JOHN STACKHOUSE, ESQ., PRESIDENT, &C[a].

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

Pursuant to an order of Councill we have Surveyed Soota loota point and the Wharf which is faln down and find the River above the Buzar to have gained very considerable in Several places, which if not speedily prevented will be of ill consequence to the Town, and must hereafter be a vast Expence to the Honourable Company to stop it. The Wharf was too slightly built for So strong a Current of Water that was against it, therefore it is our humble Opinion that ought to be built up again Stronger, and at the other Places where the River gains so vastly should be run out a Peer, or a Sloop and some boats sunk to turn the course of the water.

We are, &c[a],

RICHARD EYRE. SAMUEL FAZAKERLEY. FRANCIS STEWARD.
THOMAS HUNT. ZECHERIAH GEE. THOMAS GREGORY WARREN.

158. ACCOUNT OF BUILDINGS IN 1735.

Extracts from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, December 28, 1735. *Paragraphs* 76, 78, 79, 86, 88, 89, *and* 97. *Coast and Bay Abstracts, K*, 80.

76. On the Company's Orders they directed the full Rent of all the Gardens to be taken, but the head Merchants who had been at great Expences to make the Roads and Drains of the Town think much of, as they are only pleasure Gardens, who say that the making of Gardens is encouraged by the Government in other places.

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78. The Factory house is now finished.

79. The powder Magazine stands in the middle of a large Compound containing upwards of two acres of Ground walled quite round, which Compound cost at first 1,100 Rupees more than they gave for it. . . .

86. Have ordered two upper Rooms for one of the Doctors and a Shop for the Medicines to be built on the Top of the Hospital. . . .

88. Have thought it necessary to build a Warehouse for the Broad Cloth upon the Store Godowns, finding it apt to damage in the present, agreed at the same time to have part of it separated for the Arms. . . .

89. One of the Wharfs being broken down, and the Water having gained on several Parts of the Bank, they ordered it to be surveyed, the Report is entered after Consultation 29th November when agreed that the Buxey set about securing it.

97. It was for the Prevention of Robbers and Murderers that was secured the Outgates of the Town, notwithstanding which, is full of Robbers.

159. THE COURT CONSIDER THAT THE REPAIRS TO THE FACTORY HOUSE SHOULD HAVE BEEN FINISHED LAST YEAR.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, January 23, 1736. *Paragraph* 78. *Letter Book No.* 23.

78. You tell Us the Factory House is above three quarters Cover'd, We were in hopes from the Thirty two thousand eight hundred Rupees Charg'd this last Year under that head, that it was quite finish'd, having been so long about.

160. REPAIRS IN 1736-37.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Wednesday, September 29, 1736, *and Monday, January* 24, 1737.

Roads and Bridges to be repaired.

September 29, 1736.—Mr. George Mandevile Jemindar representing to the Board that the unusuall heavy Rains that fell last Month and the beginning of this Month has so Damag'd the Ways

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and blown up Severall of the Bridges in the Avenues to the Town, Particularly in the Roads at the Northerly End of the Town, that the Country People are Prevented bringing Provission, Grain and Merchandize usually brought to the Bazars and Marketts of this Town, and thereby are Obliged to Carry their Goods to the Adjacent Towns out of the Honourable Companys Bounds by which the Revenues are daily decreasing. Therefore we think it for our Honourable Masters Interest that the Roads have a thorough Repair and the Bridges mended,

ORDERED That the Jemindar do Immediately sett about it. . . .

Point at the Banksaul needs repairing.

January 24, 1737.—Mr. William Bruce now delivered in a Letter of Mr. Zecheriah Gee Master of Attendance to him concerning the necessity of Repairing the Point at the Banksaul.

ORDERD that It be entred after this Consultation.

TO WILLIAM BRUCE, ESQ., BUXEY.

SIR,

The Point at the Companys Banksaul is so undermin'd that the next Freshes will endanger the Carrying it away and Damage the Banksaul in such manner as to cost the Company a great deal more than it will at present if not imely prevented by a speedy Repair.

We are, &c[a],

ZECHERIAH GEE, *Master Attendant.*
FRANCIS READ, *Carpenter.*

161. EXPLANATIONS FROM CALCUTTA.

Extract from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, January 29, 1737. *Paragraphs* 96, 100, *and* 102. *Coast and Bay Abstracts, K,* 80.

96. The Companys 78th Paragraph and the Great Charge this and the proceding Year in the finishing part of the Factory House make them Uneasy lest it should be thought there have been some Impositions, all Materials very dear particularly Chunam of which a vast Quantity had been us'd in that Building.

100. Refer it to the Company whether the Factory House at Dacca shall be finish'd as Mr. Mandeville propos'd 28th December, Mr. Cook has laid out some money on it. . . .

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102. Mr. Gee was appointed Gunner and Master Attendant as Mr. Harnett and others have been, with no Additional Charge, he is honest, industrious and to be confided in, after three years Tryal has acquitted himself very well, apprehend he has been misrepresented, if displaced, the Stock his Post obliges him to keep must become a Vast Burthen to him, besides a Ten years Lease of the Rope Walk. Mr. Warren a very capable Person they appointed Master of Arms.

162. THE FACTORY HOUSE FINISHED.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, February 9, 1737. Paragraph 62. Letter Book No. 24.

62. We are glad the Factory House is just finish'd, besides the Thirty two thousand Rupees expended thereon as mentioned in our last Years Letter, We find on perusing the Buxeys Accounts Ending October 1735 a further Sum of Twenty one Thousand Rupees charged to that Account, So that this has been a very Costly Building, We hope all due care was taken by the Buxey (for We can find no Orders of Consultation concerning it, excepting that of the 14th July about some Chunam refers to it, which was a very good one) to buy the Materials at the Cheapest Rates, and that the Workmen loyter'd away no Time in the carrying it on.

163. COMPANY'S SMALL PINNACE TO BE SUNK.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations, Fort William, Thursday, March 10, 1737. Range I., Vol. XII.

Mr. William Bruce Buxey, now delivered in the Report of Survey of the Companys Small Pinnace.

ORDER'D that she be Sunk to secure the Point;[1] which we think will be more advantageous to the Company than selling her for such a triffle as she will fetch.

164. THE GREAT STORM OF 1737.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Saturday, October 15, and Monday, October 24, 1737. Range I., Vol. XII.

Report of Damage done by the Storm of 30th September.

Mr. Thomas Moore Jemindar now delivered in the Report of the Towns.

ORDER'D That it Lye for perusal till next Consultation day.

[1] Doubtless the point at the banksall mentioned in extract 157 above.

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Mr. Thomas Moore Jemindar now deliver'd in another Report.

ORDER'D That this and the other deliver'd last Consultation be Enter'd, and that in Consideration of the great distress of the Poor People in the Town He forbears the Collection of the Revenues till he receives an Order from the Board for so doing, and that the Chowkeys, Catcherrys &c^{a}, be repair'd, and the Particular Charges laid before the Board.

TO THE HONOURABLE JOHN STACKHOUSE, ESQ.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

The late Violent Storm having laid the whole Black Towns, quite throughout the Honourable Companys bounds, insomuch that hardly Twenty Thatcht Houses were standing the next day, and the Inhabitants losing the little they had are render'd incapable of paying the Rents due to the Honourable Company, I am apprehensive I may be blamed by my Honourable Masters when they perceive what a great Difference there must of Course be between the Revenues of this and some late Years, Wherefore humbly leave it to your Honours, &c^{a}, Serious Consideration to direct me how I shall Act, being apprehensive if the Arrears should be insisted on the greatest Number of the Honourable Companys Tenants will be reduced so exceedingly low and become indebted so much that they will by the Necessitys be drove from the Towns by which not only the Article of Ground Rent but every other Branch of the Revenue will be greatly diminish'd till the Towns shall be new peopled, which will be at least some years by which in my Humble Opinion the Honourable Company will be greater Sufferers than if their Tenants are excused their Arrears, What still adds to the Calamity is that by the Violent force of the Wind the River over flow'd so much that a great Quantity of Rice was quite Spoil'd so that that Article is rose from 1 md. 30 seer per Rupee to 1 md. 5 seer and near 3,000 Inhabitants were kill'd as great a Number of large Cattle besides Goats and Poultry destroy'd. There is great damage done to the Honourable Companys Houses for the Out guards of the Towns, the Publick Catcherry, the Gates of the Town and several other places the particulars of which I shall lay before your Honour after a thorough Survey of the whole which I have not yet been able to take. . . .

15th October, 1737.

The Jemindar's Second Report.

Having Examined into the Damages done by the late Storm, to the several Buildings of the Honourable Companys under my care, I think it my Duty to lay the same before your Honour, &c^{a}, as the Expence of repairing them will be too large for me to venture on, without an Order from the Board, the Particular Damage is as follows—

Of the Eleven Chowkey Houses for the Buxarys[1] about the Bounds, Seven

[1] *Baksāris*, men from Baksār, used for police and soldiers.

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are entirely Ruined, So that they must be New built, and four may be repaired.

The Three Catcherrys in the Towns, and the five in the Bazars are quite Ruined, and Cannot be repaired but must be new built.

Of the Thirteen Chowkeys for the Pykes,[1] Nine must be entirely New, and four may be repaired.

The Catcherry where the Jemindar sitts to hear Causes, and that for the Catwall want repairing.

Of the Phuttocks[2] or Gates, made about the Town fourteen are quite broke to pieces, and Eight may be Mended.

One of [the] Pucca Gates is greatly damag'd and the Door quite blown out from the Wall.

The Gate at Perrins Garden is quite broke down and destroy'd.

Several Bridges large and small for draining the Towns, are quite destroy'd. The Road by the Wharf near the Octogon in the way to Sunday Buzar, is almost Wash'd away with the River.

The Gung by Govenpore so much damaged by the River that People who import Grain, have not any place to build Goallas[3] for it, therefore request some other Convenient place may be appointed for that Purpose.

Two Carts broke to pieces and four Ponsways.[4]

The above is all the damage I as yet know of or can find out, but as I have before said the Expence of rebuilding and repairing the above, will be very considerable, I must beg your Honour, &c^{as}, order about them, before I venture on it.

THOMAS JOSHUA MOORE.

CALCUTTA,
17th October, 1737.

165. SAD CONSEQUENCES FROM THE GREAT STORM.

Extract from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, December 31, 1737. *Paragraphs* 73 *and* 82. *Coast and Bay Abstracts, K.* 80.

73. The Late Hurricane greatly Damaged Godowns &c^{a}. Old Buildings which must be repaired. . . .

82. Revenues in August and September and October much less than in former Years from the Common Calamity, Inhabitants in as low and wretched Condition by the Violent Storm so that remitted 'em part of the Arrears to prevent their Deserting the

[1] i.e., *pāiks*, armed footmen.

[2] Gates, from Bengali *phaṭak*.

[3] i.e., *golās*, warehouses.

[4] According to Grierson (*Bihar Peasant Life*, 43), a *pansūhi* is a boat with a round bottom which goes in shallow water.

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Towns, the Poor have rebuilt their Houses and the Zemindar is order'd to Collect all the usual Dutys, The Months of January to August this Year Exceed considerably those Months formerly.

166. The Court ask for a Description and Plan of the Factory House.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, January 6, 1738. *Paragraph* 54. *Letter Book No.* 24.

54. We must Submit whenever Materials for Building as Chunam or the like are Dearer than Usual, all that We aim at, is to have Neighbours ffare, and the most frugal Management, as the ffactory House which has stood Us in a great Sum is at length finished, Inform us in your next particularly of its Dimensions, the Number of Rooms, and which of our Servants have Apartments therein, and what Offices are kept there for our Notice, and likewise send us a Correct Plan of it.

167. The President's House bought for Warehouses.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Thursday, July 20, *and Thursday, July* 27, 1738. *Range I., Vol. XIII.*

July 20.—There being an Additional Quantity of Broad Cloth come out on these Ships which the Import Warehouse Keeper Declares he has no Room for in the Factory Warehouses and the Export Warehouse keeper acquainting the Board that he hath been greatly in want of Godowns ever since the Encrease of the Investment and now more immediately wants them for the Reception of those Bales arrived from Cossimbuzar which are forced to lay in the Viranda's the Cottah being also so full That he cannot open it for the Necessary Prizing of Goods

Ordered That the Two Warehouse Keepers do Enquire about the Towns if any Convenient Warehouses can be hired for this purpose and Report the same to the Board.

July 27.—The Warehouse Keepers now reported to the Board that they cannot meet with any Godowns in the Town to be let that are fit for the Reception of the Honourable Companys Goods either for the Broad Cloth or the Bales.

The President upon this made a tender of his house contiguous

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to the Fort Laying between the Honourable Company's Banksall and the Fort for both which there is a great want of Ground insomuch that no Godowns could be built within that Place But this house besides the advantagious situation hath a Number of very convenient Godowns belonging to it and he is Willing to part with it at the Prime Cost Sixteen Thousand three Hundred Seventy three Rupees (16 Rupees, 373), altho' it Stands him in much more by several Additions made to it.

It was unanimously Agreed by the Board that so many Conveniences as are there and which will be all wanted for the Honourable Companys use cannot be built (were there a proper place to do it in) for any thing near that Money and that Consequently this Purchase will be more for their Interest than to Build new Godowns besides the inconvenience now attending the great want of proper Warehouses

AGREED Therefore that We do purchase this House Warehouses and All the Appurtenances belonging to it for the Honourable Companys Use at the Price it is Offered at And that the President do Pay himself the Amount thereof Sixteen Thousand three hundred Seventy Three Rupees (Rupees 16,373) out of the Honourable Companys Cash.

168. OBSERVATIONS BY THE COURT ON THE GREAT STORM.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, December 13, 1738. *Paragraphs* 80 *and* 81. *Letter Book No.* 24.

80. For the Reasons mentioned in the 82nd Paragraph We cannot but approve of Relieving the Inhabitants of their Suffering by the Storm, the Loss of their Dwellings and great part of their Substance, in forbearing to Collect the Revenues of the poor People in the Town for some time, which in Consultation the 24th October the Jemindar was order'd to refrain till he receiv'd an Order from the Board to the contrary, We are told in the said Paragraph that the Poor labouring People had rebuilt their Houses, and the Jemindar was again order'd to Collect all the usual Dutys, but We can find no Order Enter'd upon Consultation for the same, on Entring the Accounts of our Revenues for the Months of August, September and October in Consultation the

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27th December it is said indeed an Order of Council was made for the Jemindar to Excuse them for three Months, which We can by no means reconcile with the Entry of the 24th October, and there is No other.

81. Our Warehouses and other Buildings must doubtless have suffered in the Hurricane, repairing them was absolutely Requisit, you must always remember to keep every thing in good Order and Condition, We Chearfully acquiesce in laying out our Money for such necessary Purposes provided the due Œconomy is Used, and the Work well performed, whenever any Decay is perceiv'd, don't suffer it to run on, but immediately order the proper Workmen to repair it with the best and lasting Materials.

169. Further Account of the Sad Effects of the Great Storm.

Extract from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, January 29, 1739.[1] *Paragraphs* 75-82. *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K.* 80.

75. The Annual Expences exceeded some years ago particularly Charges Merchandize which were occasion'd by the Storm.

76. Which Levelled most of the Walls in the Town, shattered and threw down many of the Buildings and blew up the Bridges, the Tide some days after broke in upon and carried away some of the Wharfs Slips and Stairs, the Places most Damnified are the Peers on the ffactory Wharf, Wharf and Slips at Soota Loota, Walls round the burying place and powder magazine and the ffactory Points, Church steeple was overthrown.

Shall Repair them in the most frugal and Secure manner its Deferred hitherto by Chunams Dearness and Scarcity.

77. A Sad Effect of the Hurricane was a Famine that raged all round the Countrey best part of the Year, were obliged to forbid the Exportation of Rice the 5th June, which affected Private Trade, more particularly Mr. Elliott who had two Ships laden with Rice.

78. Took off the Duty on all rice brought into the Town the 12th June, Hughley Government had done the Same Rice

[1] On January 29, 1739, Thomas Braddyll assumed charge of the government of Calcutta.

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was bought on the Companys Account Delivering it out in small Quantitys at the Buzar Rate, when Rice grew Cheap again, the Duty was Levied as formerly and Madrass was supplied with a large Quantity.

79. Revenues were naturally Decreased hereby and the Impoverished Tenants were Indulged with Time to Pay their Rents, but when the ffamine was over revenues arose as Usual. .

81. The Presidents house and Warehouse purchased the 27th June are very Useful and as cheap as any that could have been Built.

82. The Plan of the Factory with that Purchase is Enclosed they are Contiguous.

170. BUILDINGS IN 1739.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Monday, March 19, *Monday, July* 2, *and Tuesday, August* 14, 1739. *Range I., Vol. XIII.*

Survey of the Cottah Warehouses ordered.

March 19.—The Honourable Companys Cottah and Warehouses being very much out of Repair and the Beams decayed,

ORDERED That Mr. Thomas Gregory Warren Gunner with John Oliffe Surveyor of the Buildings Do Survey them and Report to the Board in what Condition they are and what may be wanting to Repair them Fully.

Mr. Warren's Report of the Cottah.

July 2.—Mr. Thomas Gregory Warren Gunner brought in his Report of the Cottah according to Order of Council the 19th March past,

ORDERED that it be Entered after this Consultation.

ORDERED That the Buxie do purchase the Timbers necessary for Repairing the Cotta and Warehouses as Cheap as he can and that he do provide all other Materials wanted.

TO THE HONOURABLE THOMAS BRADDYLL, ESQ., PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOUR, &c[a], COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

Pursuant to your Honour, &c[a], Orders of the 19th March past We have now Surveyed the Honourable Companys Cottah which we were not able to Effect before least We might Endanger the Goods laying therein by the Fall

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of White Ants among the Cloth. We have Strictly Surveyed each Beam and Find them all very rotten at the Ends and not trust worthy any where. They will want Fully to Repair the Same.

40 Beams	at least	21 Feet long each
8 Do.	„	16 Feet Do.
26 Do.	„	26 Feet Do.
17 Do.	„	18 Feet Do.
32 Do.	„	19 Feet Do.
44 Do.	„	22 Feet Do.

which with a proportionable number of new Burgars thereto will be absolutely necessary to repair it.

The above Warehouses, &c[a], which Your Honours, &c[a], ordered a Survey upon we have not yet been able to perform as they are not Clear and it may be dangerous to make the Survey till the Goods are removed for the above reason.

We are, with all due Respect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most Obedient humble Servants,
THOMAS GREGORY WARREN, *Gunner.*
JOHN ALOFFE.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 25th June, 1739.

Bazars ordered to be repaired.

August 14.—Mr. John Halsey Zemindar acquaints the Board that the Several Bazars and Market places not having been Repaired for these three Years past are so much out of Order that the People cannot conveniently come to their Stalls with Provisions and Other necessarys for the Town which if not duly taken care of must inevitably lessen the Honourable Companys Revenues.

AGREED That the Zemindar do See them Repaired forthwith and to do it with all possible Frugality.

171. CHARITY SCHOOL AND HOSPITAL USED AS WAREHOUSES.

Extract from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, December 24, 1739. Paragraphs 134-140. *Coast and Bay Abstracts, K.* 80.

134. Part of the Buildings shattered by Storm are repaired.

135. The Cottah and Warehouse repaired as immediately necessary, shall now go on, must Build some New Ones, not having room Used the Charity School and Hospital.

136. A Fire entirely Consumed Patna ffactory in March with

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Broad Cloth Godowns and Mr. Coles own Apartment Loss Entered 30th April.

137. Ballasore ordered to Erect a House at Bulram Gurry[1] and Flag Staff as a Land Mark.

138. Cossimbuzar permitted on Request to Enlarge Godowns for Winding Silk and other purposes.

139. Bazars so decayed people were prevented bringing provisions to Market, so ordered 'em to be repaired frugally.

140. A grainery of 20,000 Maund Rice laid in 26 March for Emergencys, having had no occasion for it ordered the Sale 15th October.

172. Further Observations by the Court on the Consequences of the Great Storm.

Extracts from General Letters from the Court to Bengal. London, March 21, 1740, *Paragraph* 58, *and February* 3, 1741, *Paragraphs* 71 *and* 72. *Letter Book No.* 25.

58. *March* 21, 1740.—In reply to the Account laid before Us of the Damage that our several Buildings sustained by the Storm Anno 1737, We shall only refer to the 81st Paragraph of Our Letter by the *Richmond*, all our Warehouses, Wharfs and other Parts of our Dead Stock must constantly be kept in good Repair, We shall grudge no Expence so necessary, provided that you lay out our Money in a frugal manner, and see that We are not abused either in the Price or Quality of the Materials, and the Day Labourers do not loyter away their time, the Repairs being Delayed for above a Year till the 18th January 1738-39 as mentioned in the 76th Paragraph and the Consultation Entry of the said 18th January was wrong management, unless Chunam was Excessive Scarce and Dear, as its Cost is but a small part of the Charge, and every thing grows worse and worse where Repairs are postponed. Your Assurance that we may depend the Work shall be done in a frugal and secure manner must be complied with and made good.

71. *February* 3, 1741.—The Streights You were drove to for Warehouse room Obliging You to make Use of the Charity School and Hospital to Lodge our Goods, convince Us of the

[1] Perhaps *garhī*, fort.

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Necessity for New Buildings, You did well in Setting about them, and Repairing those that were fallen to Decay, You Inform Us the Buxie was Ordered to Provide the proper Materials, but when Timber or any other Article which amounts to a Considerable Sum are wanted, the Matter should not wholly be Left to One Man, but after a due Enquiry by him or other proper Judges, Contracts should be made by the whole Board, in the Buxie's Account for the Month of September Three hundred Teak Timbers are Charged at Twenty Madrass Rupees each, amounting to Six thousand six hundred Rupees, which should have been Surveyed, and a Report been made to the Board before they were purchased.

72. We entirely Approve of Erecting a New Land Mark at Bulram Gurry, with a House to Lodge Necessarys for the Sloops, on the old one at Moanna being Buried by Sand Banks, We shall never Grudge the Cost on such Occasions whenever the Safety of Our Estate requires it.

173. New Godowns to be begun.

Extracts from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, January 3, 1741. *Paragraphs* 126, 127, 131, 133, *and* 135. *Coast and Bay Abstracts, K.* 80.

126. Have Finish'd the Cotta and Import Warehouse in the best manner and shall set about the New Godowns.

127. Soldiers Barracks at Cossimbuzar damaged by a Fire, Teak Timbers Sent.

131. The house at Bulram Gurry is finished and is a Good Land Mark.

133. Revenues are a small matter more than last Year.

135. Ground Rents are difficult to Collect—Tenants poor.

174. Instructions from the Court touching Fortifications in 1741.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, July 29, 1741. *Paragraph* 8. *Letter Book No.* 25.

We are pleased that no bad Consequence Ensued, to Us on the Nabob being slain in Battle,[1] however as affairs in the Mogul Empire are in a very precarious Situation, We would have our

[1] In 1740 Sarfarāz Khān had been overthrown and killed in action by Alahwirdī Khān.

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several Settlements, be put and kept in the best Posture of Defence, for We shall chearfully allow any charge requisit for the Security of Our Property.

175. Account of Buildings in 1741.

Extract from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, December 11, 1741. *Paragraphs* 148-151. *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K.* 80.

148. New Warehouses are begun, a Plan shall be sent when compleated.

149. Timbers were regularly Surveyed before the purchase in Council.

150. Some further Work done to the House at Bulram Gurry all is now finished.

151. A violent Storm greatly Damaged the ffactory House at Ballasore, ordered it to be repaired.

176. Instructions from the Court touching Fortifications in 1742.

Extracts from General Letters from the Court to Bengal. London, January 27, *Paragraph* 52, *and March* 26, 1742, *Paragraph* 3. *Letter Book No.* 25.

January 27.—We observe that the Repairs of the Cottah and Import Warehouse are finished, and a Plan was laid before you in February for some New Godowns that were necessary, We chearfully acquiesce therein, provided the Materials are bought at the best hand, the Work is substantially performed, and the Labourers are not Suffered to loyter away their Time.

March 26.—Major Knipe[1] and other Military Officers whom We have entertained in our Service on the Fort Saint George Establishment take Passage on this Ship,[2] for whom you must procure at our Charge as speedy a Conveyance thither as possible, but in case their stay should be any time, You will do well to consult with the Major on the State of our Fortifications at your Place, and transmit his Sentiments to Us.

[1] I have searched the manuscript army lists in the English Record Office, Fetter Lane, but cannot certainly trace Major Knipe. The army list of 1709 gives 'Charles Knipe, Ensign, April 24, 1706,' and the list of 1736 gives 'Captain Knype, in Colonel Long's Regiment of Foot, appointed January 25, 1741.'

[2] The *Wilmington*.

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177. Orme's Account of the Maratha Ditch.[1]

Extract from Materials for 'Bengal History.' Orme Collection, O.V., Vol. LXVI., p. 82.

In the year 1742, the Indian inhabitants of the Colony requested and obtained permission to dig a ditch at their own expence round the Company's bounds from the northern part of Sootanutty, to the southern part of Govindpore. This work would extend seven miles, whilst the force to defend it did not exceed 300 Europeans and 500 Indians. In six months, three miles of this fortification were finished: when the inhabitants seeing that no Morattoes had ever been on the western side of the river within sixty miles of Calcutta, and that Allaverdy exerted himself vigorously to prevent their incursions into the Island of Cossimbuzar, discontinued the work, which from the occasion, was called the Morattoe ditch.

178. Measures taken for the Security of Calcutta in 1742.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, April 20, 22, 24, *and* 27, *May* 27, *June* 25, *July* 1, 3, 12, *and* 22, *and August* 3, 1742. *Range I., Vol. XV.*

Calcutta Ordered to be made Defensible.

Tuesday, April 20, 1742.—From the repeated Advices our Merchants have received from Budwan Radnagore and other Places of the Morattoes near approach to this Country which being confirmed to us by the above Letter from Cossimbuzar [from Sir Francis Russell dated the 16th Instant] We think it Necessary to take some Steps for the Defence and Security of this Place, therefore

Town to be surveyed.

Ordered That Captain Commandant William Holcombe Captain John Lloyd and Captain Edward Frederick Reade Gunner taking with them John Allifze Surveyer of the Works Do go

[1] Compare this account with the corresponding passage in Orme's *War in Indostan*, Vol. II., p. 45.

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Round the Town and take a particular and Carefull Survey of the same Giving us their Opinion in Writing wher and in what Manner the Several Avenues to Calcutta may be defensible in case of the approach of an Enemy and to Report the same as Soon as they possibly can.

Report of the Town.

Thursday, April 22.—Captain Commandant William Holcombe &c[a] Gentlemen Ordered for that Service delivered in their Report of the Town and what is Necessary to be done for the Defence of it pursuant to Order of Council the 20th Instant.

Resolutions for fortifying Calcutta.

Advices from all Parts still Confirming the News of the Morattoes Near Approach to the Nabobs Army Therefore and that We may lose no time in Making the Place as Defensible as possible.

ORDERED That the Several Batterys be Raised the Ditches made the Gates Walld up and other Works done for the Defence and Security of the Town as are mentioned to be immediately Necessary in the Report delivered in by Captain Commandant William Holcombe &c[a].

ORDERED that all such Gun Carriages as may want it be immedeately Repaired and put in order and New Ones made where the same may be required.

ORDERED That the Gunner do Employ as many People as he can in Making a Sufficient Store of Gunpowder for Service with all other kind of Ammunition Necessary.

As We find on the List of Military Stores but a very small Number of Small Arms,

ORDERED that the Master of Arms do look out for such good Small Arms as are to be purchased in the Town and that a sufficient Number be proved and bought up for the Companys Use on this Occasion on the best terms we can.

Buxie to provide Workmen and Cooleys.

ORDERED that the Buxie do provide a sufficient Number of proper Workmen Cooleys &c[a] for the Necessary Repairs and

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Service that are to be made and that the Extraordinary Expences arising on this occasion be kept by him under the head of Expences Fortifying the Town of Calcutta. . . .

Copy of Captain Commandant William Holcomb's Report.

TO THE HONOURABLE THOMAS BRADDYLL, ESQ., PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOUR, &C^a, COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

Pursuant to your Order We have been Round the Town and taken a Survey of the Avenues and Passes into it which are so Numerous that We apprehend it requires a much Superiour Force, properly to Defend them than can be Raisd at present However we have remarked the following places of most importance and what may be most necessary to be done at this juncture[1] Vizt.

To Make a Battery at Seats [Seths'] Garden[2] consisting of Six Guns Four of which to face the Road towards Pennings [? Perrins] And two to Flank the Avenue towards the Watter side.[3]

A Battery of four Guns a Little on this side the Octagon.[4]

A Battery of three Guns at Mr. Jacksons Gaut [*ghāṭ*].[5]

A Battery of three Guns opposite to the Gaol,[6] All the Passes into that Road

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[1] In the King's Library in the British Museum there is a collection of maps and plans of places in India marked 'K. 115,' among which is a 'Plan of Calcutta and the Adjacent Country in 1742, by Forresti and Olifres' (K. 115, 40). This shows five of the seven batteries enumerated in this report. Four of these batteries are shown by Orme in his two plans of Calcutta.

[2] Presumably the Seth's garden is the *Zura Bari Bag* (i.e., *joṛā bāṛī bāgh*, two houses garden) of the British Museum plan, and the Joṛā bāgān of modern Calcutta.

[3] This, I presume, is the most northern battery shown in the British Museum plan, where its name is Batarie Zora Denga—i.e., battery *joṛā* (*bāṛī*) *ḍāngā*, the battery of the *joṛā bāṛī* dry land. It is situated at what is now Beadon Square. The road towards Perrin's is the Chitpur Road; the avenue towards the waterside is Nimṭolā Ghāṭ Street.

[4] The octagon was at Sūtānuṭī Point; hence this battery must have been a little to the south of the point.. It is not shown either in the British Museum plan or in Orme's plans.

[5] Jackson's *ghāṭ* is marked in a plan of 'Calcutta town, most of what was inhabited by the English, as in 1756,' in the Orme Collections in the India Office (P.V. 2, 16). This fixes the position of the third battery, which, oddly enough, is not given either in the British Museum plan or in Orme's plans.

[6] The jail was in Lāl Bāzār, where this battery is placed both in the British Museum plan and in Orme's two plans. In the British Museum plan its name is Batarie de Lal Pazar.

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into the Town to be Stopt up with Mud Walls and Ditches before them as also a Ditch before each Battery.

All the Gates in to the Black Town to be Walld up.

A Battery of three Guns in the Road that comes from Golgaut [Gholghāṭ] to be made at the Lane that comes down by Captain Jacksons house.[1]

A Battery of four Guns three of which to face the Road by Captain Lloyd's house and One to Flank the Avenue down towards the Watter side.[2]

A Battery of two Guns opposite to Mr. Margass' house Near the Rice Golahs[3] and all the by alleys thereabouts to be stopped up with Mud Walls and in case of an alarm we think it Necessary that the Bridges[4] by Capt. Peiarei's and Capt. Reades houses be then Broken down.

The above is the Result of our Sentiments which We offer to your Honours &c[a] consideration and are with great respect,

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your most Obedient Humble Servants,

WILLIAM HOLCOMBE.
JOHN LLOY'D.
E. F. READE.

CALCUTTA,
The 22nd April, 1742.

An Engineer entertained.

Saturday, April 24.—There being one Captain Robert Lennard come from Madrass who we hear was very Serviceable raising the new Fortifications there on the Morattoes Approach,

AGREED That he be Entertained for the present occasion and that he have a Suitable Reward for his trouble.

[1] This must be the battery which we see in the British Museum plan a little to the south of the first battery. It is also shown in both of Orme's plans. In the British Museum plan its name is Batarie Zora Sako—i.e., battery *joṛā (bāṛī) sāko*, the battery of the *joṛā bāṛī* bridge. It is placed at what is now the junction of the Chitpur Road with Ratn Sarkar's Street, near Lāla Bābū's Bāzār, below the Joṛā-sāko Police Station. Gholghāṭ is not known in modern Calcutta. Captain Jackson, I think, must have been a different person from the Mr. Jackson after whom the *ghāṭ* was named.

[2] This is the battery which we see in the British Museum plan south of the fort, and the burying-ground in the creek near the river. It is here named Batarie Cap Loid (the *p* looks very like a *j*). It is also shown in both of Orme's plans. It stood at what is now the junction of Government Place with Esplanade Road West, at the corner of the Treasury Buildings. Government Place is the road by Captain Lloyd's.

[3] This must be the remaining battery at the end of the creek which we see both in the British Museum plan and in Orme's two plans. In the British Museum plan it is called Batari Nimuchar sa ma (the *r* looks very like an *n*). It stood in what is now Bentinck Street, at its junction with British India Street.

[4] The bridges over the creek south of the burying-ground.

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River to be surveyed.

ORDERED that the Master Attendant do take with him two of the Honourable Companys Sloops with such of the Pylots Masters and others in the River Service as may be necessary and with them proceed up the River as high as Chandernagore Sounding all the way and Making proper Remarks of the Channels Sands Shoals &c[a] therein That in Case it should be found Necessary hereafter to send any Vessel up to oppose an Enemy in Crossing the River He and they may be perfect Masters of the Channel.

Nicholas Jackson's (Master Attendant) Report of the River.

TO THE HONOURABLE THOMAS BRADDYLL, ESQ., PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOUR, &C[a], COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

Pursuant to an Order of the President, &c[a], Council bearing date the 24th Instant I went up the River with two of the Companys Sloops and one private one (the rest that were up at Calcutta being on repair) and took with me what Pylots and Masters were necessary for sounding up as high as Chandernagor in case there should be occasion here after to send any Vessells up in order to oppose an Enemy crossing the River between here and the above mentioned place and found the River to be very navigable all the way up only allowing good Births to the Points as we passed them Especially the point opposite to Pennings[1] Garden at least two thirds of a Cables length from the Shore and the Sand of Burnagur [Bārānagar][2] rather more than that Keeping the Western Shore well on Board untill at least one Mile above the Town may then pass with Sloops or other Vessells at almost any time of tide without danger Excepting at Charnock [Chānak][3] where there is a Bank of Sand extending it Self from the Western Shore at least half River over or more But in the Channel close to the Easter Shore there is at least five Fathom at low Watter on the Springs but being so narrow Ships in going up or coming down are often obliged to Anchor there until near two thirds flood to pass it without a leading Gale and which I judge to be the most likely place in the River between Calcutta and Chandernagore that an Enemy can have on any occasion to Cross.

I am, Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

CALCUTTA, *27th April*, 1742. NICHOLAS JACKSON, *Master Attendant.*

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[1] i.e., Perrin's.

[2] Just north of Calcutta.

[3] The modern Barrackpore. The name has nothing to do with Job Charnock. It was the name of the place long before his day, and is found elsewhere in Bengal.

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Considerations on fortifying the Town.

Thursday, May 27.—The Honourable Company having in the 8th Paragraph of this Letter[1] directed that their Several Settlements be put and kept in the best posture of Defence for the Security of their Property as affairs in the Mogul Empire are in a very precarious Situation,

RESOLVED that we write to the Gentlemen at Patna and desire they will prevail on Mr Forresty[2] to come down hither from thence as we look upon him to be an able Enginier and that he be employd to form a Plan and Estimate of what may be necessary to be done also that he be assured of all fitting Encouragement for his trouble herein.

ORDERED that the Buxie do begin to provide a quantity of Bricks and Chunam to be in readiness.

ORDERED that a Stop be put to the Works carrying on for the present defence of the Town.

Mr. Forrestie's Departure to be hastened.

Friday, June 25.—If Mr. Forrestie be not set out before we desire he may come away directly That with his and what other Assistence we can Get we may put this place into a posture of Defence.[3]

Town to be surveyed again.

Thursday, July 1.—ORDERED That Captain Commandant William Holcombe Captain John Lloyd and Captain Edward Frederick Reade Gunner taking with them such other Persons as they shall think proper Do take a new Survey of the Town as Soon as possible and Report to us in Writing the Condition the same is in with what further may be Necessary to be done for its immediate Defence.

ORDERED That the Extra ordinary Number of Buxcerries discharged as per Consultation the 17th ultimo be reentertained to

[1] General Letter from the Court to Bengal, July 29, 1741 (see extract 174 above).

[2] The joint author with Olifres, or Oliffe, of the two earliest extant plans of Calcutta now in the British Museum, viz., 'Plan of Calcutta and the Adjacent Country, 1742' (K. 115, 40), and 'Plan of Calcutta, 1742,' showing the palisades (K. 115, 41).

[3] In answer to a letter from Patna promising to send down Mr. Forrestie.

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Man the out guards of the Town and that the three Pauncesoys Then also discharged be Employed in the Service again on the River for Intelligence.

ORDERED That the *Calcutta* Sloop be Mannd and Armd and that Mr. Alexander Wood do repair on board said Sloop and carry her up to Perrins Gardens off which Place he is to lay to prevent any Party of the Morattoes from Crossing the River there abouts and to give us the most timely notice should such an attempt be made.

Report of the Town.

Saturday, July 3.—Captain Commandant William Holcombe &c[a] Gentlemen appointed to that Service laid before the Board Their Report of the Town and the Works Necessary to be done for it's immediate defence pursuant to Order of Council the 1st Instant.

ORDERED That it be Entered after this Consultation. . . .

Copy of Captain Holcombe's Report.

THE HONOURABLE THOMAS BRADDYLL, ESQ., PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOUR, &C[a], COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

Pursuant to your orders we have been round the Town and took with us Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted. We gave our opinion the last time We were directed on a Survey by your Honour, &c[a] That Seven Batterys were requisite at that Juncture for securing the grand Passes into the Town and Many Walls and Ditches to be Made in the Narrow Passes Of which Batterys three only are finished and two other began All of which we are of opinion ought to be completed. We should not have thought before of making a Battery at the Seats Garden which is at so great a distance But that We apprehended it was the Interest of our Honourable Masters and your Honour, &c[a], intentions That their Merchants and Tenants might have all the Assistance in our power or at least the Appearance of it which might make them Easie with their Goods and Effects in their houses and had the Batterys been kept in narrower Bounds They in all probability would have thought themselves and Effects Neglected. In Reality the Batterys[1] at the Seats Garden will be of Little use unless there are three if not four others made in the Road from the Gaol to that Place[2] which we imagine may prevent small Partys from Getting into that part of the Town and without which by Fifty men only It may be plundered and Burnt. And as those

[1] The first and fifth batteries.

[2] That is, in the present Chitpur Road.

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Batterys will be in Command of one another If one of them should be Strongly Attacked That they who Defend them may be obliged to give away Their Business will be to Nail up those Guns and Retreat to the Next Battery This is the Method We think Necessary to be taken for the better Security of your Merchants houses and in case you think Reinforcements can be got from the Europe Ships, &c[a], to defend these Batterys—If not a Smaller Compass may be better secured by the Small Number of Military and others in Calcutta.

We are with the greatest respect, Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your Most Obedient Humble Servants,

WILLIAM HOLCOMBE,
JOHN LLOY'D,
F. F. READE.

CALCUTTA,
The 3rd July, 1742.

Debate on the Report of the Town.

On a Debate about the proper method for rendering the Town defensible in the present Exigency—

MR. WADHAM BROOKE is of Opinion that were the Batterys or other Works thought Necessary to be done Reduced to a narrower Compass than Mentioned in the Report it would be better.

MR. JOHN HALSEY is of Opinion It will be impossible to Defend so large an Extent as proposed by the present Scheme and that the most likely method to Secure the Effects of the Honourable Company as well as the Merchants and their Effects would be to reduce the Fortifications to a narrower Compass.

MR. WILLIAM BARWELL says that the present Conjuncture not admitting regular Fortifications the Place ought to be made Defensible in such a Manner as may Make the Merchants and Inhabitants Easie and Satisfyed.

MR. WILLIAM DAVIS is of Opinion that making the Works proposed in the Report for the present will be highly usefull and are Necessary At the same time he approves of a narrower Compass being Fortify'd That if we should be disappointed of the Assistence we may reasonably expect from the Europe Ships and other Vessells Expected to arrive at this Port We may then retire to the lesser Compass But it is also his opinion that the larger Circle ought to be maintained if possible.

MR. JOHN FORSTER is of opinion that the Securing a narrower Compass is the most Eligible But as Some of the other Works

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are already Finished he thinks it best to go on with them agreeable to the Report and untill a more regular Fortification can be made.

THE PRESIDENT is of the same Opinion with Mr. William Davis As the Majority of the Board are for carrying on and Finishing the Work Mention'd in the Report for the Present defence of the Town Resolved that they be carryd on and Finished accordingly agreeable to the Tenour of said Report.

Fort to be survey'd.

ORDERED That Captain Commandant William Holcombe Captain John Lloyd and Captain Edward Frederick Reade do take a Survey of the Fort and do Report to the Board in writing as soon as they can the Condition thereof with what they may think necessary to be done for It's further and better Defence and Security. . . .

Report of Fort William.

Monday, July 12.—Captain Commandant William Holcombe and the other Gentlemen appointed to that Service laid before the Board their Report of Fort William pursuant to order of Council the 3rd Instant.

ORDERED That it be Entered after this Consultation. . . .

Copy of Captain Holcombe's Report.

TO THE HONOURABLE THOMAS BRADDYLL, ESQ., PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOUR, &c[a], COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

Pursuant to the order of your honour, &c[a], We have taken a Survey of the Fort and observe some Irregularitys which will take up great time in altering and which we do not particularize as We understand your Honour, &c[a], have wrote to the Worshipfull Humffreyes Cole, Esq., &c[a], Council at Patna to send down Mr. Forrestie. What We Apprehend is immediately Necessary is to have a Parapet built round the Fort Wall and likewise on the New Godowns and Swivel Guns fixt on the Parapet at proper distances.

We are with Respect, Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient humble Servants,

WM. HOLCOMBE,
JOHN LLOY'D,
E. F. READE.

CALCUTTA,
The 10th July, 1742.

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Europe Ship new moor'd at Perrins.

Thursday, July 22.—Captain John Petre representing to the Board that the Ebb Tide and Freshes are so very Rapid where his Ship is Moord at Perrins that he does not think it Safe for her to Ride there without better Moorings besides the continual fatigue it is to his Men being obliged to New Moor the Ship every Tide.

Mr. Jackson Master Attendant and his Assistant Mr. Wood being calld in were asked their Opinions what was necessary to be done in this Case or if there was not some more convenient Place that way for her to Ride in and where the Ship may be of equal Service.

They Say that there is no place so convenient as where the *Tygris* lays to prevent the approach of an Enemy and that the most proper method for her to Ride Secure Is to lay the Honourable Companys Mooring Anchor down there with one or more of the Chains as May be found Necessary to Ride her against the Ebb with which they imagine She will be Safe.

ORDERED That the Mooring Anchor be Stockt and prepared accordingly and that the Chains be examined and put into order as Soon as possible on this occasion. . . .

Mr. Forrestie to survey the Town.

Tuesday, August 3.—Mr. Forrestie being arrived from Patna[1] was now call'd in and acquainted that the reason of our sending for him was to give us his advice and assistance in forming a Plan of Fortification for the Security and Defence of this Place.

He Says that he will immediately Take a carefull Survey of the Town in order to form and lay before the Board as Soon as possible a Plan for properly Fortifying the same.

[1] Forrestie arrived on July 29, having left Patna on July 11. This appears from a letter from Patna, dated July 11, which concludes: 'Mr. Forrestie accompanys this Letter he has been detain'd Sometime by Sickness.'

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179. Brief Accounts of the Measures taken for securing Calcutta in 1742.

Extracts from Abstracts of General Letters from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, July 31 (*paragraphs* 11 *and* 12), *and October* 30, 1742 (*paragraph* 16). *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K.* 80.

11. On the Morattas coming began to put Fort William into the best posture of defence. A Strong Detachment sent to Cossimbuzar and sent for Mr. Forrestie a good Engineer from Patna to Form a Plan for a Fortification. Subordinates ordered to be put into a State of Security some Bastions are Erected at Cossimbuzar.

12. *Tygris* and *Houghton* are ordered up to Calcutta Guard Ships.

16. Mr. Forrestie has formd several Plans for Fortifying the Town, shall consult Major Knipe and send his Sentiments.

180. Proposals for fortifying Calcutta.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, November 1, 15, *and* 29, *and December* 18, 1742. *Range I., Vol. XV.*

Plans of Fortification brought in.

Monday, November 1.—Mr. Forrestie now laid before the Board a Draught of the Town of Calcutta with several Plans which he had laid down for fortifying the same.

Major Charles Knipe being called in in order to take his Opinion thereon agreeable to our Honourable Masters directions and the Draught and Plan being shewn to him and his advice asked He says he will go with Mr. Forrestie round the Town and view the Ground when he shall be better able give his sentiments on the Plans and that he will do this as soon as possible.

Major Knipe's Opinion of Mr. Forrestie's Fortifications.

Monday, November 15.—Major Charles Knipe now laid before the Board his Opinion in Writing on the Plan drawn by Mr. Forrestie for Fortifying the Town with a further Scheme for doing it according to his own Sentiments and offers to go round the

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Town with Mr. Forrestie and draw out a Plan Conformable thereto.

Resolved that Mr. Forrestie be desired to attend on Major Knipe accordingly.

ORDERED That Major Knipe's opinion be entered after this Consultation. . . .

Copy of Major Knipe's Opinion.

TO THE HONOURABLE THOMAS BRADDYLL, ESQ., GOVERNOUR OF CALCUTTA AND THE GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL.

In obedience to your order I have taken a View of the Design of Monsieur Forrestie according to his Plan for the Fortification of your Town of Calcutta and think it my Duty to inform you that in the whole it appears to me impracticable and not at all Conducive to the Interest of the Honourable East India Company to pursue the Method he proposes and my reasons are first That it will Carry an Expence with it not to be borne Not only on Account of the Fortification of the place but of the Numerous Quantity of Houses and Gardens which must be purchased at the Expences of the Company to Compleat his Design For from that part of the Works where he proposes to erect the East port, The Rampart, Fossee, Covered way, and Glacis are Extended to the North Port or to the River thro' the heart of the Town where most of the Black Merchants of the greatest Credit inhabit whose houses must be Entirely razed to Compleat his Design Nor is it only the Breadth of Ground the Rampart Fossee Covered way and Glacis will take but the Esplanade or open level Ground which is absolutely Necessary should Extend it self round the whole Works at least one hundred Yards from the foot of the Glacis will make the whole a space of near Two hundred Paces in Breadth thro' the Centre of the Town where the houses must all be demolished.

My next objection is That I observe most of the Ground is a spungy loose Soil Especially that part of it before mentioned from the East to the North Port and in the Traverse of his Plan replete with Tanks and Numerous Ditches which must all be filled but I doubt with Difficulty made firm Ground so that the Facings of the Fossee which on the side of the Rampert must be at least eight and Twenty foot high from the Bottom from the Vast weight of water continually lyeing against it will be in great Danger of Sapping and from the looseness of the Earth in General of the Works blowing up which can no way be prevented but by a Bed of Clay being ramm'd at the Back of the Facing at a very great Expence.

Thirdly I conceive this Plan will not Effectually answer the intention of the Honourable the Court of Directors for by endeavouring to secure their own Property as They Stile it in their Letter to Your Honour and the Council I suppose they inte[n]d the Persons and Effects of all who are concern'd for them In pursuing this Scheme by the small Compass it takes in the Greater part of

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the Black Merchants with whom the Companys Estate is intrusted will be Excluded or their houses Destroyed.

In considering on this affair upon the whole I am of opinion That a Wall of about four Foot thick defended with proper Towers that should flank each other with about Ten Cannon mounted in each would be of Strength Sufficient in this Country against any Enemy that did not set down to a regular Seige and might be carry'd on to encompass the whole Town at less than half the Expence Exclusive of the Purchase to be made of the other and by making the Bricks Twelve or Sixteen Inches Square would exceedingly hasten the Building lessen the Quantity of Lime to be used in Work and render the Wall much Stronger and more Durable than was it faced with Common Brick.

This I humbly Submit to your Honour and the Gentlemen of Councils Consideration as my Opinion who am,

Sir,

Your most Obedient Servant,

CHAS. KNIPE.

CALCUTTA,
November 12th, 1742.

Engineer discharged and gratified.

Monday, November 29.—Mr. Robert Lennard having performed to our Satisfaction the Service he was entertained upon as per Consultation the 24th April last,

AGREED that he be allowed five hundred Madrass Rupees for his Service.

ORDERED That the Buxie do pay the same and charge it to the head of Charges fortifying the Town. . . .

Major Knipe's Plan of a Fortification.

Saturday, December 18.—Major Charles Knipe laid before the Board a Plan of a Fortification for the Town drawn in consequence of his opinion delivered into Council the 15th Ultimo.

ORDERED That it lye on the Table for Consideration.

181. FURTHER ACCOUNT OF THE MEASURES TAKEN FOR SECURING CALCUTTA IN 1742.

Extracts from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, January 8, 1743. *Paragraphs* 113-131, 135, 136, *and* 141. *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K.* 80.

113. Advised via Madras of the Methods pursuing to put the Settlement in a proper Posture of defence on the Morattas Invasion.

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114. On the first Alarm Entertained 200 Buxerrys to Man the Choukeys and Patrol a nights on Skirts of the Town and Four Pauncesoys on the River for Intelligence.

115. Ordered 20th April a Survey of the Town, Guns, Small Arms and Ammunition in Store, also a List of Inhabitants.

116. And Mannd the Sloops with full Complement of Men and Stores.

117. Entertained 100 Lascars in the Gun room, Gunner ordered to see everything in his Province put in the best Condition and to make Powder Ready.

118. Formed 24 April a Militia with Officers to Command. River Surveyed up to Chandernagore to make People Masters of the Channel and a Person ordered to Supervise the New Works.

119. Having but few Small Arms, bought 120 Musquetts.

120. On Morattas retiring put a stop to the Works 27th May but ordered Chunam and Bricks to be provided against Mr. Forresties arrival with whom shall advise about a regular Fortification. Discharged 17th June the Buxerrys.

121. The Morattas having seized Hughley Fort thought proper to order a New Survey of the Town and Reentertained the Buxerrys and Pauncesoys—Report of the Town being made Agreed to Finish the Works therein mentioned, Survey of the Fort was brought in the 12th July.

122. Bought 500 Sword Blades at 2 Madras Rupees each, requested from Madras Great Guns and Shot and Small Arms and took a Chest out of the *Sumatra*.

123. Received from Madras 750 Small Arms with 20 Cannon and Shott.

124. Prohibited 3rd August Sale of Great Guns and Warlike Stores to Blacks to prevent either party taking Umbrage.

125. Mr. Forrestie was directed that day to Survey the Town and Form a Plan of a Fortification, he brought in Several the 1st November, which were shewn to Major Knipe who went round the Town gave his Opinion the 15th and proposed Walling the Town Round at much less Expence and laid before them a Plan the 18th December.

126. These Plans are in a Bamboo per *Houghton*.

127. The Major has taken great Pains and Mr. Forrestie also.

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128. Discharged Mr. Robert Lennard 29 November and gave him 500 Madras Rupees for Assisting in the Works.

129. Prohibited 22 April Rice being Exported, took it off 3d. June.

130. All Expences of Raising Batterys and other disbursements on account of the Troubles are carried to the head of Fortifying the Town. . . .

131. Cossimbuzar Fortified the Walls of the Factory by Erecting 4 good Bastions so that they feard no Surprize from any Party.

135. Mr. Cotesworth Erected a Brick Wall round Ballasore Factory to prevent Insults, which will cost about 800 Rupees.

136. All Timber and Plank wanted were Surveyed and Reports made.

141. New Warehouses are not yet quite perfected.

182. Cost of the several Plans of Fortification proposed.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Thursday, January 20, and Tuesday, January 25, 1743. Range I., Vol. XVI.

Calculate of building Fortifications.

January 20.—Ordered That Messieurs Forrestie and Ollifze the Engineer and Surveyor of the Works do lay before the Board as soon as possible a Calculate of the Costs of Building Fortifications for this Town agreeable to the different Plans sent to England per *Houghton*.

Calculate for building Fortifications brought in.

January 25.—Messrs. Forrestie and Ollifze laid before the Board their Calculate of the Costs of Building a Fortification for the Town according to the different Plans sent home per *Houghton*.

Ordered That it be entered after this Consultation.

Copy of Messrs. Forrestie and Ollifze's Calculate.

To the Honourable Thomas Braddyll, Esq., President and Governour of Fort William, &c[a], Council.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

According to Order of Council the 20th Instant We have calculated the Expence of Fortifying the Town to the best of our Judgment agreeable to the several Plans delivered Your Honours, &c[a].

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The large Plan contains a space of sixteen thousand feet a Wall for which Thirty foot high from the foundation and six feet thick will cost—

At Twenty five Madrass Rupees for a cubical Fathom ...	353411
Houses to be pulld down about	100000
Madras Rupees	453411
The middle Plan at the same rate will cost	191691
Houses to be pulled down about...	50000
Madras Rupees	241691
The small plan will cost	147220
Houses to be pulld down about	100000
Madras Rupees	247220

We are, with great Respect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most Obedient Humble Servants,
THEODORE FORRESTIE,
JOHN OLLIFZE.

CALCUTTA,
The 25th January, 1742-43.

Mr. Forrestie entertained as Engineer.

As We think it proper that some Gratification should be made to Mr. Forrestie for the trouble he has already taken in drawing and supervising the Plans of some Fortifications for the Town and other Works for its immediate Security.

He was Calld in and Askd what he Expected for the services he had done hitherto.

Mr. Forrestie Represents That in the way down from Patna being seized by the Morattoes near Nuddea he lost to the amount of Three hundred Madrass Rupees which he hopes may be made good to him That he only desires further such a monthly allowance as the Board may think proper from the time of his leaving Patna at which Place he had Ely Rupees 80 per month with his Diet Lodging and Servants.

As this Gentleman will be very useful in the Settlement being an Ingenious and Knowing man in his Business,

AGREED That the Buxie do pay him Eighty Madrass Rupees

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per month Salary with Forty Madrass Rupees per month for his Diet and other necessarys from the first July last the time of his quitting Patna to the end of this month and

RESOLVED That from thence he be continued in the Companys Service as their Engineer here at the same Salary and Allowance untill our Honourable Masters pleasure be known.

183. MAJOR KNIPE ON THE DEFENCES OF CALCUTTA.

Extract from Letter from Major Knipe to the Court. Fort Saint George, January 26, 1743. *Read in Court, September* 9, 1743. *Miscellaneous Letters received*, 1743-44, *Vol. XXXII.*

SIRS,—Since my last to your Honours, by the *Tigris* Captain Peter from Bengall, at the desire of Thomas Bradyll Esq[r]. Your Governour there, and the rest of the Gentlemen of the Councill, I took a fresh Survey of the Town of Calcutta, in order to make a Fortification round it, suitable to the importance of the place; a Plan of which you will receive in your Packet by the Ship *Wilmington* Captain Tedd, Together with a remonstrance of mine to his Honour Governour Bradyll, shewing my reasons why I thought it impracticable to persue the Method laid down in another Plan for the Fortification of the place by an Italian Ingineer retained in the Service, which I presume you will likewise receive. In order to compleat the Plan I mention to your Honours, I had a great deal of trouble; taking the exact dimensions of the Circumference avoiding the difficultys of the Moory Ground, Tanks, and Ditches, took me upwards of Six Weeks night and morning; and if my Plan and directions are persued, I will engage my life, 'tis a Sufficient, Firm, and lasting Fortification for the Place; will take in as much Ground again; which I take to be Your Honour's intentions; and be compleated at less than half the expence, of the Scheem intended by the Italian Gentleman, could that be carried on with effect. . . .[1]

(Signed) CHARLES KNIPE.

[1] The rest of the letter refers to Madras.

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184. The Plans of Fortification referred to the Court for Decision.

Extract from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, January 30, 1743. *Paragraphs* 17 *and* 18. *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K.* 80.

17. Calculate sent of the Costs of Building Fortifications for the Town for each Plan which refer to the Companys Consideration as are not Authorized to Undertake such an Extensive Work without Express Orders.

Purchasing Houses and many other Incidents will be a further Charge.

In their Judgment the Plan Major Knipe has Signed will be the most proper, as it will Secure the Companys and all the Merchants and Tenants Property and also Encrease Inhabitants—a Moderate Encrease of the Military with the Assistance of Inhabitants and Seafaring Men would be Sufficient to defend it from the Morattas or any Countrey People.

Messrs. Forster Halsey and Brooke imagine per Consultation 3rd July the Medium Plan most Eligible and will answer all Intents.

18. Reimbursed Mr. Forrestie the 300 Rupees the Morattas took from him and as he is very Ingenuous and knowing entertained him as Engineer at 120 Rupees a Month.

185. Repairs in February and March, 1743.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations, Saturday, February 26, *and Monday, March* 7, 1743. *Range I., Vol. XVI.*

Wharf to be surveyed.

February 26.—The Honourable Companys Wharf and several others in Calcutta being much impaired by the Tides

Ordered that John Oliffe do take a Survey of them and report to us to whom they severally belong in order to have them repaird.

Report of the Wharf brought in.

March 7.—John Ollifze now brought in a Report (agreeable to an order of council of the 26th Ultimo) of the Wharf as measured by

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him with a particular Account of each Inhabitants Share of the same.

AGREED That the several Inhabitants mentioned in said Report be called in before us next Council day.

Cotton Godowns, Smith Shop &c^a to be surveyed.

The Buxey representing to the Board that the Timbers of the Cotton Godown Smith Shop Doctors Lodgings and of the lower part of the Companys Horse Stables appear much damaged by the white Ants.

ORDERED that John Ollifze the Companys Surveyor do take a survey of the same and Report to the Board in Writing what Condition he finds them in.

186. MEASURES TAKEN FOR THE SECURITY OF CALCUTTA IN MARCH, 1743.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Thursday, March 17, Tuesday, March 29, and Thursday, March 31. Range I., Vol. XVI.

Batterys repaired.

March 17.—Some of the Honourable Companys Batterys wanting to be repaired,

ORDERED that the Buxie do sett about repairing of them with what they may want.

Fort and Town to be surveyed.

March 29.—As it may be proper to make some additional Fortification and take some further Steps for our Defence should the Marrottoes Approach this way

ORDERED That Captain Commandant William Holcombe and Mr. Forrestie do go round the Fort and the Adjacent parts thereto and take a Survey thereof and report to us what Additional Fortifications or Alterations they may think necessary to be made on this occasion and that they do it as soon as possible.

Merchants allowed to dig a Ditch round the Companys bounds.

March 31.—The Several Merchants and Inhabitants of Calcutta propose to the Board at their own Expence to dig a Ditch Twenty one Covids wide from the Battery at the Prison round the Companys bounds as far as the Cowkeys beyond Perrins Gardens

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That each Inhabitants proportion towards the same shall be rated by the Jemindar. That the Space of Ground which will be covered by the Bank raised out of the Ditch shall not now or hereafter be Charged with Rent. They also desire for the present that Twenty five thousand Rupees may be advanced out of the Honourable Companys Cash to begin the work Bisnodaseat [Vishnudās Seṭh] Ramkissenseat [Rāmakṛishṇa Seṭh] Rassbeharryseat [Rāsvihari Seṭh] and Omichund [Amichand] engaging to repay the same in three Months.

AGREED That the above proposal be allowed of and that they have Liberty to Dig the Ditch on the Terms they mention and further that the President do advance them Twenty five thousand Rupees out of the Companys Cash as they request.

Parapet Wall round the Factory to be built and the Avenues to be barricaded up.

Captain William Holcombe and Mr. Forrestie agreeable to the order of last Council now delivered in a Plan of what they thought necessary to be done for the Security of the place but as what they have laid down will require some time to compleat and the present Emergency requiring something that will take up but a short time having continual Alarms of Partys of the Marottoes approaching near us the same was sett aside and those Gentlemen asked what they thought would serve for the present. They said it was absolutely necessary to have a Parapet Wall built round the Curtains of the Factory Inland as also upon the New Godown and and that all the Avenues leading into the Square with the Factory should be barricaded up.

ORDERED that the same be sett about and done accordingly.

ORDERED that the Jemindar do entertain Two hundred more Buxerries for the Companys Service.

187. OBSERVATIONS BY THE COURT ON THE DEFENCES OF CALCUTTA.

Extracts from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, October 14, 1743. *Paragraphs* 10-12. *Letter Book No.* 26.

October 14, 1743.—10. Three Things are well to be Considered with respect to the Enlarging the Fortifications of your Place.

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First, That we do not Offend the Countrey Government in so doing, and thereby Involve our Selves in Trouble with them.

Secondly, the Expence ought strictly to be Scrutinized into, as all Estimates are constantly found to fall greatly short of the real Expence, and when once such Things are begun, it is absurd not to go through with them.

Thirdly, and lastly, That as We do not want it for the Security of our own Estate, as we apprehend that your present Fortifications, together with the Marine are abundantly sufficient for that purpose, it remains therefore well to consider what Security and Encouragement it may give to Merchants and People of Substance to Live under our Protection, and what We shall be gainers thereby to Encourage Us to maintain a Garrison sufficient to Defend such Works, and what these Merchants and others will contribute thereunto, for on the present foot of our Revenues, We do not find them encrease in proportion to the Number of Inhabitants that have flowed unto Us.

11. These are Points We shall Deliberate upon, and before We take any Resolution, We must also have Your Opinion on them, and until these points are cleared up to Us, We must recommend it to You to put Us to no more Expence than is necessary for Your Safety, remembering this, that we look upon your Place much more out of the reach of the Countrey Government than either Madrass or Bombay.

12. But as to Fortifying our Subordinate Settlements, We are utterly Averse to it, as in all great and dangerous Disturbances and Troubles in the Countrey, You must Order them to withdraw our Effects to the Head Settlement.

188. Account of the Measures taken for securing Calcutta in 1743.

Extract from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, February 3, 1744. *Paragraphs* 93-99. *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K.* 80.

93. Wharfs being out of Repair by the Strength of Tides and Freshes ordered them to be Repaird by Proprietors.

94. Repaird also the Cotton Godown, Smiths Shop, Lodgings in the Factory and Stables.

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95. On the Morattos Return 17 March ordered the Batteries to be put in good order, entertained 100 Buxerries and 3 Ponsoys.

96. Raised a Militia of the Inhabitants 4th April appointing Officers.

97. Directed Parapet Walls with Embrasures round the Curtains of the Fort, and New Godowns and all the Avenues to the Square before the Factory to be Barricaded up and 200 more Buxerries—Merchants proposed at their own Expence to Dig a Ditch round the town, to Secure their Houses agreed thereto 29 March and Lent them 25000 rupees on 4 Persons Security to repay it in 3 months. Which is Compleated as far as the Great Road that leads from the Fort Gate towards the Lake[1] and is begun to be carried on as far as the Extent of the Companys Bounds at Govindpore Part of the money is repaid and the rest will be made good in a short time.

98. Forbid the Sale of Warlike Stores.

99. Two Sloops stationed 28th March as Guard Vessels at Govindpore and Perrins Garden.

189. GROUND TO BE MEASURED.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, February 23, 1744, Range I., Vol. XVII.

Mr. John Jackson Jemindar representing to the Board that Continual Disputes arise among the Inhabitants about their ground rent the Companys bounds not having been Measured these Ten Years past,

ORDERED that he do Survey and Measure the same.

190. OBSERVATIONS BY THE COURT ON THE PRECAUTIONS TAKEN AGAINST THE MARATHAS.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, March 21, 1744. Paragraphs 58 and 59. Letter Book No. 26

58. We entirely approve of the necessary Precautions taken on the Morattas Invasion to prevent a Surprize, by hiring a number of Lascars, forming the Inhabitants into a Militia, Surveying the Town, Fortifications, Guns, purchasing some small Arms, and

[1] i.e., Bow Bāzār.

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the like, the Expence upon such an Urgent Occasion, We chearfully acquiesce in, relying upon your Care and Frugality in Disbursing our Money on every Article.

59. As the Danger we hope is long before now blown over, such Retrenchments of our Charges We expect were made by Discharging all Supernumerary Hands, putting Us to no further Expence in other Respects than was requisit, agreeable to our Sentiments by the *Lapwing*.

Mr. Forrestie may be an Ingenious Skilful Engineer, but We dont see any Occasion that We have for him, such Persons have generally Expensive Schemes in their Heads, therefore he must be Discharged from our Service.

191. BATTERYS ORDERED TO BE REPAIRED AND SOLDIERS ALLOWED FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE DITCH.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, March 29, 174. *Range I., Vol. XVII.*

Several of the Batterys raised last Year being much out of repair and Some of them fallen down

ORDERED that they be again built up and such repairs given to them as they may require. Also that such other Methods be taken for the Defence of the Town against the Marrottoes as may be found convenient. . . .

The Merchants proposing to Defend the Ditch Dug round the Town with their own People Provided we would allow them about Sixty Europeans Soldiers to be Divided and Placed at the Several Bastions thereof in Order to Encourage their People.

ORDERED That the number of Soldiers they require be allowed them.

192. THE MOORS PREVENTED FROM PASSING THROUGH THE ENGLISH BOUNDS IN THEIR PURSUIT OF THE OSTENDERS.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, October 13, 1744. *Range I., Vol. XVII.*

Having just now received Information that the Ostenders have quitted their Factory at Banquibazar[1] and gone a board Two

[1] Bānkibāzār was on the east bank of the Hugli, between Ichāpur and Chānak or Barrackpore. The charter incorporating the Ostend Company was signed by the

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Ships they have taken from the Moors, one of which lays off Charnock and the other a Little above Barnagull, and that Several Moors Forces are upon the Banks of the River at those Places. And as these Ships fall down it is imagined the Moors may want to pass through our Bounds in pursuit of the Ostenders, And by that Means may Plunder many of our Inhabitants as is Customary where these Forces pass,

AGREED that we immediately dispatch a Messenger to the com-

Emperor Charles VI. on December 17, 1722, but not made public till the next year. Subscription lists were opened at Brussels on August 11, 1723, and the required capital, six millions of florins, raised in less than two days. Amongst the shareholders were the Marquis de Prié, the Duke of Aremberg, the Count de Windischgrätz, the Princes of Ligne and of Rubempré, and the Count of Lalaing. After more than one unsuccessful attempt to gain a footing in Bengal, the general meeting of December, 1725, sent out two ships, *L'Espérance* and *La Paix*, under Alexander Hume, which arrived in the Hugli in August, 1726. After a year of negotiation with the Nabob, Hume settled a factory at Bānkibāzār, and another at Qāsimbāzār. In this very year, however, the Emperor, yielding to the joint representations of England, Holland, and France, suspended the Ostend charter for seven years. On March 16, 1731, the Austrian Government signed the second treaty of Vienna, and promised to stop the trade permanently, and on February 23, 1732, the directors received a decree definitely abolishing the Ostend Company. Thus the interests of Flanders were sacrificed to the jealousy of commercial rivals and the exigencies of Austrian policy (see *La Belgique Commerciale sous l'Empereur Charles VI.*, by Michel Huisman, Brussels, 1902). Since 1728 the affairs of the Ostend Company had been managed by a secret committee. In December, 1730, Hume made over the charge of the factory at Bānkibāzār to François de Schonamille (*ibid.*, p. 491). After the departure of Hume, the Nabob ordered the 'German caste' to be banished from Bengal, but Schonamille managed to maintain himself at Bānkibāzār. In 1732 the *Concorde* was sent to Bengal with instructions to transfer the factory to the Emperor, to whom Schonamille swore allegiance. The factory was not destroyed, as Stewart and Hunter say, in 1733, but became an Austrian possession. A new seal and a new flag—yellow, with an eagle surrounded by the Order of the Golden Fleece, in its right claw a naked sword, in its left claw an orb surmounted by a cross—was substituted for that of the Company on January 12, 1734 (*ibid.*, pp. 499, 500). Bānkibāzār, as we see from the present extract, was not abandoned till 1744, when, at the instigation of the Dutch, the *faujdār* of Hugli determined to seize the place. Schonamille was accused of helping the Marāṭhās, and a large indemnity was demanded. On his refusing to pay, hostilities broke out. On September 22, 1744—i.e., September 11, O.S.—he attempted in vain to escalade the fort of Hugli. The town, however, was set on fire, and two ships with rich cargoes were captured. In return the *faujdār*, with ten thousand men, besieged and took Bānkibāzār. Schonamille and a few of his companions escaped, sailed out of the Ganges, and took refuge in Pegu.

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manding Officer of the Moors to desire he will March his Army Clear of this Place for fear of any disturbance happening between any of his and our People And to prevent their Coming into the Bounds and Passing the Ditch.

AGREED Further than an additional Party of Soldiers be sent to Perrins Garden and that another Party be detach'd to Cow Cross[1] and another to the Bread and Cheese Bungolla[2] for the like purpose, and as we have many Great Guns mounted on feild Carriages likewise that a proper number be sent with these Partys to the above mentioned Places with a Proper Number of Lascars.

193. THE COURT REITERATE THEIR APPROVAL OF THE PRECAUTIONS TAKEN AGAINST THE MARATHAS.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, February 7, 1745. *Paragraph* 36, *Letter Book No.* 26.

We entirely approve of putting the Batterys in good order, repairing the Wharfs, raising a Militia, laying in a Stock of Grain, hiring Lascars for the Gunroom, Lending the Black Merchants a Sum of Money to Dig a Ditch round the Town at their own Expence, and other Steps that were taken for your better Defence on the Moratta's approach, observing that when the Danger was over, our Charges were duly lessened by Discharging the People hired upon this Emergency.

[1] Cow Cross is what we now call S'yām Bāzār, at the junction of S'yām Bāzār Road with the Circular Road.

[2] This, I imagine, was a house of entertainment at the end of the Great Bungalow Road, the modern Bow Bāzār. The locality is still called *baiṭhak khānā*—i.e., guest-house. Compare the following extract from *Captain Warwick's Account of the Attack on the Nabob's Camp* in the Fort St. George Select Committee Consultations for February 24, 1757: 'The enemy . . . lodg'd themselves in a Tope [grove] near Meter's Gardens behind the Hedges from hence they detach'd a large Party of Horse with Two Cannon to the Cross Road of the Bungalo, which we soon dislodg'd with our Field Pieces after receiving a few Shott, and from hence marched into the Fort.' From this it is clear that the bungalow was at the junction of Bow Bāzār with the Circular Road.

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194. THE COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA CONSIDER THAT NEW WORKS WOULD COST TOO MUCH.

Extract from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, February 9, 1745. *Paragraphs* 86, 90, *and* 91. *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, Vol.* 5.

86. The Companys Towns Measured, usual Salamy [*salāmi*][1] will be Collected.

90. As to Fortifying the Town were encouraged by the Governour at Morattas Invasion to make it as defensible as could, Persons of Rank coming for Shelter, Nabob made no Demands for Strengthning Cossimbuzar tho' near his Residence, but apprehend a demand would be made were New Works begun when the Country is in peace.

91. Revenues might thereby be raised but not Answerable to Expence, many Difficultys in Raising Contributions on Merchants and Inhabitants as experience in Digging a Ditch, Money due on that Account—nothing can be received from Strangers but what would be Redemanded.

195. PROCEEDINGS AT CALCUTTA IN 1745.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, March 21, *April* 22, *May* 13, *June* 24, *July* 29, *September* 2, *September* 26, *October* 1, *and October* 21, 1745. *Range 1., Vol. XVII.*

Bridges to be mended and Drains cleared.

March 21.—Several Parts of the Town being very Offensive Occasion'd by the Drains being stopt up and many of the Bridges being broke Down

ORDERED that John Ollifze Surveyor of the Works do take a Survey thereof and report the condition he may find them in and what Necessary to be Done. . . .

April 22.—John Ollifze[2] Surveyor of the Works now delivers

[1] Present, gift.

[2] John Ollifze, Alofze, Oliffe, or Olifres (the name is written in all these various ways), died in July, and was buried on the 19th. Bartholomew Plaisted was appointed surveyor in his stead, but I can find no note of the appointment in the Consultations.

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in His Report of the Bridges and Drains about the Town pursuant to an Order of Council the 21st Ultimo.

ORDERED That said Report be Entered after this Consultation and that the Necessary repairs be given to the Bridges and Drains mentioned therein by the Buxey. . . .

ACCOUNT OF BRIDGES IN THE HONOURABLE COMPANY'S BOUNDS THAT WANT REPAIRS AND TO BE MADE NEW.

At the Church	2
At the Cutcherrie	1
At Santose Buzar [Santosh Bāzār]	1
At Loll Buzar [Lāl Bāzār]... ...	2
At Mr. Boddleys House	1
At Mr. MackPhersons house ...	1
At Fazells house	1
At Mathew, a Portuguese house ...	1
At Banksall	1
At Drains	1
At Printing house	1
At New Bazar	3
At Hospital	2
At Chaplain Reades house ...	1
At Dock	2
At Govindpoor	4
At Sambuzar [Syām Bāzār] ...	3
At Kiderpoor[1]	1
At John Bazar	2
Bridges to be mended ...	31

All the Drains in general want a thorough reparation.

At Cutcherree	1
At Loll Buzar	1
At Mondy Buzar	1
At Govindpoore	1
At Sam Buzar	1
Bridges to be made new ...	5

The Marathas take Cuttack. Further Precautions.

May 13.—Having this Day received certain advices of the Marrottoes taking the Fort at Cuttack under the Command of Rogojee Goslah,[2] and Several Small Partys having entered this Province, and Robbed and Burnt many Villages, and made some attempts near Chandernagore and Hughley, and a Body of them

[1] See Hobson-Jobson on the name 'Kidderpore.' The occurrence of this name here is an additional proof, if any were needed, that Kidderpore was not named after General Kyd.

[2] Rāghōjī Bhosla, the Marāṭha General, who became the first *rājah* of Nagpur in 1740.

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having Crossed this River at Kissnagore and committed Hostilitys there

We esteem it necessary to prevent any attempts on our Bounds to entertain three Hundred Buxerys extraordinary and Six Ponsways to be kept on the River. Also that a Lieutenant and Thirty Men be sent to Perrins Garden as a guard to that end of the Town, and to Secure the Gunge at Govindpore that a party of a Sergeant and 20 Men be placed at some Convenient Place thereabouts, with the *Belvidera* Sloop to lay off the Gange. . . .

Black People to quit the English Houses.

June 24.—Several Black people having intermixed themselves among the English Houses, and by that means occasion Nusances and disturbances to Several of the English Inhabitants

ORDERED That the Jemindar do make enquiry there and lay before us an Account of such Houses as are Inhabited by them in order for them to quit, and remove to proper Places in the Town. . . .

Buxerys discharged and Ponsways.

July 29.—Having advices of the Marrottoes being withdrawn at some distance we apprehend there is no necessity for the present to Continue the Extraordinary Number of Buxerys and Ponsways entertained on the first Rumour of them

ORDERED that the Jemindar do discharge them. . . .

House hired for the Commanders of the Men of War.

September 2.—As We shall be in Want of another House besides the Companys to accomodate the Commanders of the Men of War, in case any of them should come up here and there being a very proper House to be Let for a 1000 Rupees to the End of February next

AGREED That we Hire said House for that Time and get it in readiness for the reception of them. . . .

Repairs to the Town Goal.

September 26.—William Ffytche Esqr. Sheriff now Sent in a Letter acquainting Us that the Prison is in Want of Repairs.

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ORDERED That the Honourable Companys Surveyor Mr. Plaisted do go and Take a Survey thereof and report the Condition he may find it in and what repairs are necessary.

ORDERED That Mr. Ffytche's Letter be entered after this Consultation. . . .

TO THE HONOURABLE THOMAS BRADDYLL ESQ., PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOUR, &C.ª, COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

The goal of this Town of Calcutta wanting great repairs I Take the Liberty to Lay the same before you, and your Honour, &cª, will please to give orders that the same may be repaired as at present it is hardly in a Condition to Secure the Prisoners. The Door Frames to the Condemned Hold are quite rotten, as are also most of the window and Door Frames throughout the prison, it is likewise leaky and the Chunam Drop't off in several Places, which if not soon repaired will be in a much worse condition and Consequently of greater Expence to the Honourable Company.

I am, with great respect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your Most Obedient Humble Servant,
WILLIAM FFYTCHE, *Sheriff.*

FORT WILLIAM,
The 23rd September, 1745.

October 1.—Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted now sent in his report of the repairs necessary to be made in the Town Goal.

ORDERED that the Buxey do set people about these repairs and That Mr. Plaisted's report be entered after this Consultation. . . .

TO THE HONOURABLE THOMAS BRADYLL, ESQʳ, PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOUR, &Cª, COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

By your Honours Commands I went and viewed the Town Goal and after a full Examination find there is wanting as follows:

One Window Frame of the Goalers apartments.
The two Door Frames of the Condemned Holds but the doors are good.
One other Door Frame.
Earthen Water Spouts for the Tarrass.
One Room wanting 4 Beams Eighteen foot Long to a foot Square which with the Burgers wants Shifting and a part of the Wall wants Plaistering.

I am,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
With respect,
Your Most Obedient Servant,
BARTHOLOMEW PLAISTED.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 30th September, 1745.

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Regulations to be made in the Town.

October 21.—Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted Surveyor of the Honourable Companys Works (who had our directions some time ago for that purpose) now represents to us that many of the Inhabitants have filled up part of the Ditches which were Drains to the Town and that several Encroachments are made in the Roads and Streets which occasions great Inconveniency's.

ORDERED That Mr. Plaisted do now take a particular Account of the several Encroachments (Taking with him one of the Jemindars People) and report the same to us No person to be allowed more Ground than is specified in each of their Pottahs,[1] likewise that he take a Survey of all the Drains and Ditches and report the Condition thereof with an Estimation of the Expence to put them in good order and to Keep the Town wholesome and free from the offensive smells arising from the Ditches and Holes about town which we Imagine have been the Occasion of the Late great Sickness and further that he reports what underwood may be necessary to be cut down in and about the Ditches.

196. BARTHOLOMEW PLAISTED TO SURVEY CALCUTTA.

Letter from the Secretary at Fort William to Bartholomew Plaisted, October 21, 1745. *Miscellaneous Letters received,* 1745-46, *Vol.* 33.

To Mr. Bartholomew Plasted, Surveyor of the Companys Works.

SIR,

By order of the Honourable the President and Council you are to take a Particular Survey of all the Roads and Streets (taking with you some of the Jemindars People to Assist You) and report to the Board in writing the Several encroachments you may find no Person to be allowed more ground than is Specified in their Several Pottahs. You are likewise to take a Survey of the Drains and Ditches and report the Condition thereof with an Estimation of the Expence it will cost to put them in good order and keep the Town wholesome and free from

[1] A *paṭṭa* is a deed or paper conveying to the grantee his title to the land, and specifying the conditions under which it was to be held.

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the offensive Smells therein you are further to report what underwood may be necessary to be cut down in and about the Ditches.

I am, Sir,

Your Most humble Servant,

FORT WILLIAM, JOSHUA BRIGGS, *Secretary.*
The 21st October, 1745.

197. ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS IN CALCUTTA IN 1745.[1]

Extract from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, January 31, 1746. *Paragraphs* 76-78 *and* 80-84. *Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, Vol.* 5.

76. Calcutta Town offensive by Drains being Stopt and Bridges broke, repaired 22 April.

77. Took Measures 13th May to secure Bounds from Attempts of Morattas when they Quitted those parts dismissed the Buxerys and Ponsways.

78. Merchants repaid 20 May Loan for digging Ditch being 9980 Rupees.

80. Black People living in Town ordered to Quit being Nuisances and Disturbers.

82. Ordered Town Goal to be repaired.

83. Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted is Surveyor of the Companys Works.

84. He Reported 21 October many Inhabitants had fill'd up part of the Ditches which were drains to the Town and made Encroachments in the Roads and Streets.

Ordered him to Point them out, and that no One be allowed more Ground than Specifyed in Pottah and to Estimate the Expence of Repairing Drains and Roads in good Order and to keep the Town Wholsome and free from the Offensive Smells and Ditches and Holes about the Town, imagin'd to occasion the late great Sickness, and to report what Underwood was necessary to be cut down, Mr. Jackson Jemindar was directed to remove the Houses where any Incroachments were made and to order Ditches to be Open'd as Drains and Roads about Town which are now in hand.

[1] On February 4, 1746, John Forster assumed charge of the government of Calcutta.

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198. Additional Fortifications to be made if necessary.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, May 7, and June 6 and 12, 1746. Paragraph 45, Letter Book No. 26.

As the Province is liable to the Morattas Incursions, We would have such Additions made to our Fortifications as You upon the Spot shall deem requisit for the Security of the Settlements, putting Us to no further Expence herein than is necessary.

199. Plaisted's Plan for strengthening the Fort.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, January 23, February 2, February 11, and February 15, 1747. Range I., Vol. XIX.

A Plan for strengthening the Fortifications to be drawn up.

January 23.—Commodore Griffin having given the President his opinion of the Weakness of our Fortifications and the Commodore having taken the Trouble in cencert [*sic*] with Mr. Plasted to point out a Method of Strengthening them in the best manner they will admit of,

Agreed that Mr. Bartholomew Plaistead be directed to draw a Plan for making the Fort more defenceable with the Calculation of the Expence to be laid before the Board for our Determination. And as Mr. Bartholomew Plastead is a person the best Qualifyed for to Direct in matter's of Fortification,

Agreed that he be entertained as Mr. Forrestie formerly was Viz^{t}, Eighty Madrass Rupees Sallary and 40 Madras Rupees Diet Money and that the Buxey do pay him the same Monthly. . . .

Mr. Plaisted's Proposals for fortifying the Fort.

February 2.—Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted Lay's before the Board his Proposals for fortifying the Fort.

Ordered that they be entered after this Consultation. . . .

To the Honourable John Forster, Esq^{r}., President and Governour, &c^{a}, Council of Fort William.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Agreeable to your Honour &c^{as} Commands do now lay before you my Plan[1] which with Submission to your Honour &c^{a} Judgement beg liberty to

[1] This plan, which I here reproduce, has been preserved at the India Office in the Orme Collections (O.V. 2, 15).

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Entittle a scheem for the most Expeditious way of Fortifying Fort William [with] the Easyest Expence.

According to which Plan I beg Liberty to observe your Honour &c[a] that Fort William as it now Stands is both an Iregular and week place which is what the Company has already said of it and on the Condition it is now will Scarcely require an assault to take it, 'tis therefore in this Plan I endeavour at the least Expences to rectifie the whole.

First the Bastions are so small as scarcely to observe [deserve] that Name and to knock them down and Enlarge them would Cost fifty thousand Rupees and could not be Executed under Two Years I therefore propose to make them Serve as Cavaleur's to the New Work extended which will be a Mud Bastion without them, the outside Talu to be at Least 40 foot from the preserved Bastion of which twelve for the Parapet the rest for the Tereplane of the Guns this work will be lower than the old as per profile laid down with the Plan and as Brick work is very Expensive considering the Price of Chunam and Bricks and also very Tedious Considering the Scarcity of them and Bricklayers I propose to face it with Turf as is Customary in many Parts of the world this is to be dig'd up in peices 18 Inches and laid in the Nature of Bricks 3 foot or more thick, and if well done will have it's advantages above Brick work not but I am Sensible it may want a Little Repairing every Year afurther [after the] Rains but that I imagine will be but a trifling Expence considering the Number of Coolies the Company has in Constant pay and will be abundantly made up by that Expence of Brickwork saved and one thing farther on this head I beg liberty to observe that if your Honour &c[a] should aprove this plan we shall hereafter be as able to face it with Brickwork as was [?] and this small Expence now laid out will be no way lost.

Secondly a Ditch I think absolutely Necessary to prevent an assault Agreeable to what is laid down in the Draft this in consequence of our wanting Earth for our New work will very little Encrease the Expence excepting the overplus of Earth with which can form a Glacis immediately on the Counterscarpe without any covert way by your Honour &c[as] orders I have excluded the New Godowns and propose for their Defence to rais two demi Bastions laid down in the Draft in the Nature of a horn work that by the waterside is not so properly a Demi Bastion as it has a small flank on the River side which I can no way Enlarge as the foundation will reach as far as low Water mark the Ditch is also carryed without this work.

As to the Expence, If Coolie hire does not rise upon such a Job being in Agetation, Excepting the Bastions by the River side which must be of brick work; I look on the Ditch and the rest of the work will not Amount to more than thirty thousand Rupees, but what the buying of Peoples propertys which stand so near the Fort as to make it Danger[ous] will cost, I submit to your Honour &c[as] Judgment to determine.

I am, with the greatest respect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient Servant,
BARTHOLOMEW PLAISTED.

CALCUTTA,
The 2nd February, 1747.

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Mr. Plaistead's Plan taken into consideration.

February 11.—We now took into Consideration the Plan for the most Expeditious manner of Fortifying Fort William for the present as laid before us by Mr. Bartholomew Plaistead and having for our better Information Called before us Captain Commandant William Holcombe Captain Hamilton and Captain Jacobs Ensign Nasmuth and Captain Reade Their opinions were ask'd whether the Plan brought in would answer that end or if they could advice us of any better Method, As they could not give us an Immediate answer they desired our Permission to give their Several Opinions to the Board in writing which We directed them to do as soon as Possible that we might Inform Our Honourable Masters thereof. . . .

Consideration of the Opinions with regard to fortifying the Place.

February 15.—Being met to Consider the several opinions given into the Board with regard to fortifying the Place We observe they differ from one another in particular's but all agreeing that the Fort is so much Surrounded with Buildings, That the Enemy can make their approach near us under that Cover and that We Cannot be properly Fortifyed without they are removed besides that our Garrison is too small to Man any Additional Works, therefore We are of opinion, That the making of the Ditch proposed would too much Invade on other Peoples Properties besides the Great Effect the Heavy Rains has on all Works of that kind which renders them quite useless in a Short Time but as We think it Necessary to make a Place Bomb Proof, The fort wall next the River being at Present very low and Necessary to be raised,

AGREED therefore that that be the part for Casemating at the same time the Wall be raised and that such other works be made for Security of the Weakest part of the Fort called the New Godowns as shall upon further advice and Consideration be thought most proper.

That a Reservoir be made for Water and that Grain be laid in, in Goallas within the Fort and that the Fort be pallisadoed on all Sides but that next the Water,

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ORDERED that the several opinions as delivered in Concerning our Fortifications be Copied out to be sent home to the Company.[1]

200. REPORT OF MR. PLAISTED'S PROPOSALS.

Extracts from Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, February 22, 1747. Paragraphs 115-117. Bengal Letters received, Vol. Ia.

115. Commadore Griffin having given the President his opinion of the Weakness of our Fortifications and the Commadore having taken the trouble in concert with Mr. Plaisted to point out a Method of strengthening them in the best manner they will admit of We agreed in Consultation of the 23rd January that Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted be directed to draw a plan for making this Fort more defensible and the Calculation of the Expence to be laid before the Board for our Determination And as Mr. Plaisted is best qualified in this place to direct in matters of Fortification and would be very necessary to us in case of being attackt We agreed to entertain him in your Honour's Service in the same manner Mr. Forestie was Vizt. to be allowed eighty Madrass Rupees Salary and Forty Madrass Rupees Diet Money pr. Month.

116. Accordingly on the 12d. February Mr. Plaisted laid before the Board his Proposals for fortifying the Fort with a Plan agreable thereto for our Consideration His Proposals are entered after that days Consultation and the Plan goes in the Packet for your Honour's Observation.

117. On the 11th. Instant We took into Consideration Mr. Plaisted's Plan for the most expeditious Method of fortifying the Fort for the present and having for our better Information called before us the Commandant Captains Hamilton and Jacobs Ensign Nasmuth and Captain Read their Opinions were asked if the Plan brought in would answer the end or if they could advise us to any other better Method they desired our permission to consider thereof and give their opinions to the Board in Writing which accordingly they gave in on the 15th following which are in this Packet for your Honours Observation We having taken them into consideration the same day found them differ from one

[1] There is no copy of these opinions in the Consultation Book.

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another in many particulars but all agreed that the Fort is too much incumbered with buildings that the Enemy can make their Approach near us under that Cover and that we cannot be properly fortified without they are removed besides that our Garrison is too small to man any additional works Therefore We were of opinion that the making the Ditch proposed would too much invade other peoples properties besides the great effect the heavy rains have on all Works of that kind which renders them quite useless in a short time but as We think it necessary to make a place Bomb proof The Fort wall next the River being at present very low and necessary to be raised We agreed that should be the part for casemating and that the Wall be raised at the same time and that such other Works should be made for securing the Weakest part of the Fort called the New Godowns as should on further Advice and consideration be thought most proper That a Reservoir be made for Water and that grain be laid up in Goalaes within the Fort and that the Fort be pallisadoed on all sides but that next the Water All which we shall endeavour to put in execution as soon as Materials can be got together.

201. Fascine Batteries to be made to strengthen the New Godowns.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, March 7, 1747. Range I., Vol. XIX.

Having taken into Consideration the best method of Fortifying what is reckoned the Weakest Part of the Factory Viz[t] The new Godowns We find that the quickest, best and cheapest method will be to make a Fascine Battery as proposed by Captain Holcombe one side whereof is to Flank down the River and the other to Flank the New Godowns.

Agreed that it be set about immediately.

202. Plaisted's Opinion about the Proposed Palisades.

Letter from Bartholomew Plaisted to John Forster, Esq., dated March 30, 1747, endorsed 'Letter to John Forster, Esq., Paragraph the 3rd, No. 2.' Miscellaneous Letters received, 1747-48, Vol. 34.

Honourable Sir,—To be free with Your Honour a favour you are pleased to bestow upon me I shall with the Honesty belonging

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to a Person in the Station of an Engineer giye You my free and uncontroll'd Opinion concerning the Scheem now on foot.

First.—In regard to the making some secure Place Bomb Proof I can readily foresee anything of this kind will be very expencive however its an Easy way to lessen the Expence by diminishing the Quantity for I am very Certain that if the whole Curtain next the Church be done to the Purpose it will cost the Company 50,000 Rupees.

Secondly.—As to Pallasading Fort William as proposed I am and must be against it that is to say in giving my advice when it is Askt being in it self a Preposterous Scheem let who will be the Proposer as it will be both Expensive and Useless for every Pallasadoe must be at least Six Inches and Sixteen or Eighteen Foot long and I am very well convinced will before they are fixed in the Ground cost the Company four Rupees a Peice and there must be 4,000 provided to go round the Factory or Exclusive of the River side three thousand allowing some to turn out bad consequently the Expense in the former Case will be 16,000 Rupees, in the latter 12,000, this your Honour will please to Observe is the least Expence going the Cheapest way to Work, but I am fully perswaded if the thing is exicuted that it will cost double from Pucker Reasons and am well perswaded will be rotton in five Years if they are not Stole and torn up before that time for firewood.

As to their Use give me leave to Observe that as every Pallasado being Six Inches must stand at but three distant if a Battery of Cannon is raised against them it is then two to one but every Shot Strikes a pallisado if the Battery is only direct or Fronting them but if Oblique you cannot miss them this Illconvenience is now rectified by all Engeneers by removing them into the Ditch and Covert Way from the Glacis Experience having taught them Wisdom.

I cannot close this without Observing to Your Honour that Pallasadoes are seldom made use of, but in Europe in Places frequently attackt by a Royall Army where every thing that can be thought of are Used to keep the Enemy off and also to be Supposed in a Place where Timber is Cheap for if that is not the case they are not Used that is to say to be had for Cutting Down

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for I have been at Genoa Leghorn Messina &c[a] and been round their Fortifications and know though those Places are well Fortified yet they have No Pallasadoes the Reason is that their Use and Service will not counterballance the Expence I therefore give it as my humble oppinion that the Scheem now on Foot will be both Expencive and Useless on which Account I tran[s]fer and make over to the Proposer thereof all the Honour that [may] Accrue thereby declaring the Maxim is new to me and pass[es] my comprehension indeed something of this kind practized on the Coast of Guiney to keep the Wild Negroes and Inhabitants of the Wood out.

I am &c[a] B. P.

[BARTHOLOMEW PLAISTED].

March 30th, 1747.

To the Honourable JOHN FORSTER, Esq[r].

202. PART OF THE BARRACKS TO BE MADE BOMB-PROOF.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, April 13, 1747. Range I., Vol. XIX.

Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted Engineer having been directed to inform Us of the proper place to make Bomb proof as agreed upon acquaints Us that he thinks some Part of the Barracks to be the most proper

And as the Timbers thereof are very rotten and must necessarily be removed

AGREED therefore that a Part of each End be appropriated for that purpose and that it be immediately set about a Quantity of Bricks and Chinam being now ready

And as he advises Us against Pallisading the Fort as we first designed it being useless and expensive

AGREED therefore that such Pallisadoes as are already provided be applyed to the Ends of the Wharf where the Walls are very low.

203. OBSERVATIONS BY THE COURT ON THE LOSS OF MADRAS.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, July 24, 1747. Letter Book No. 26.

5. We are Surprized to hear that the Success of the French at Madrass should fill you with such Terrors, even while the Men of

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War lay in Bengal River, for which Reason, having a Confidence in the Resolution and Activity of Mr. John Jackson, We appoint him next in Council to Mr. Forster, and to Succeed him when he Resigns the Government.

6. And We hope that all our Governours who have not Resolution to Defend Our Settlements, as We think was the Case at Madrass, will Resign to such who have.

7. Enclosed is a Copy of a Resolution come to by The Company in General Court Assembled, We hope and expect that you will Abhor the thought of giving up the Settlement, and the more Monstrous one of a Ransom afterwards.

204. THE PALISADES.[1]

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, September 3, 1747. Range I., Vol. XX.

Captain Commandant Robert Hamilton sent in his proposals for strengthing the Place in the best and most expeditious Manner it will bear.

As We think it highly necessary to comply therewith

ORDERED that it be set about immediately and

ORDERED that Captain Hamilton's Proposals be entred after this Consultation. . . .

TO THE HONOURABLE JOHN FORSTER, ESQ^r, PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOUR OF FORT WILLIAM, &C^a, COUNCIL.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

I now think it Part of my Duty to lay before Your Honour &c^a Councill what is necessary to defend the Town of Calcutta in Case it should be attack'd by Land as it lies entirely open on all Quarters in order to defend the same and to dispute the Ground Inch by Inch with the Enemy the following Work is necessary. In the first Place all the little Allyes and Streets ought to be treble pallisadoed with strong pallisadoes and where its thought necessary they may have Doors to them for passing thro' in the Daytime and there must be Ditches on the Outside and Ground Rais'd Breast high, on the Inside All the large Avenues from the River within and also the Landing Places must be strongly Barricadoed with Pallisadoes and Doors to them only in some Places and the

[1] The palisades are shown enclosing the European portion of Calcutta in a plan which I here reproduce, Pl. IV., and which is preserved in the King's Library at the British Museum (K. 115, 41). The plan is attributed to Forresti and Olifres in 1742. This is obviously incorrect; it is more probably by Plaisted, in 1748 (compare extract 224, and the first footnote thereto).

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Pallisadoes ought to be more open in Order to fire Cannon through them as also a large Quantity of Gabbeions made of Bamboes as also a large Quantity of Gunney Bags must be got ready to make Batteries for Cannon when wanted Likewise a Large Quantity of Grenadoes and in default of such a Quantity as is necessary Glass Bottles will do better for Fumalls where it is visible the Enemy designs to attack, all the Small Cannon in the Place ought to be mounted on Field Carriages and all those who have Houses and Compounds bordering upon the Avenues to the Town where the Enemy may reasonably be thought able to approach shall be Order'd to raise a Foot Bank of Earth behind their Walls so high that a Man with Ease may fire over them into the Street and the like Conduct ought to be observ'd in Houses English Men ought to have the Out-guards of all Principall and Particular Places, and the Aforesaid Avenues and Places before mention'd to be guarded by Berhendars But if it is replied We cannot maintain so many Posts at Once I answer neither can the Enemy attack so many Posts at once and one man within is worth 4 without Likewise the Line of Cannon next the River Side within the Ambrosiers there ought to be Gabeones Placed of 6 foot high fill'd with Earth between the Cannon if Your Honours approve of this my Humble Opinion the sooner the Work is begun it will be the better for the Safety of the Honourable Companys Effects and likewise ourselves the Inhabitants

I am, Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your most Obliged and Obedient Humble Servant,

ROBERT HAMILTON.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 31st August, 1747.

P.S.—What I have Mention'd will not only be a great Defence to the Place but will very much hinder the Desertion that We have from time to time of Soldiers and Sailors.—R. H.

205. REAR-ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN SENT OUT.

Extract from Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, October 16, 1747. *Letter Book No.* 26.

4. Upon our Strenuous Application His Majesty hath been Graciously pleased to send a Strong Squadron of Men of War under the Command of The Honourable Rear Admiral Boscawen with these our Ships whereon this Letter is sent.

12. In case Rear Admiral Boscawen or the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces should require your Assistance in Attacking the Enemy any where near you, We hereby order you to give it him to the utmost of your Power, and to put under his Command what Military, Marine or other Force you can possibly procure or spare consistent with the Safety of your Place.

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206. BUZARS TO BE REPAIRED.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, November 24, 1747. Range I., Vol. XX.

Mr. William Kempe Zemindar acquainting the Board that the Buzars are so bad that in the Times of the rains the Country People desert them and the Expence of repairing them being calculated at about 1000 Rupees

ORDERED that we do repair the same this being the proper Season.

207. CAPTAIN FENWICK'S[1] VIEWS ON THE DEFENCES OF CALCUTTA.

Extracts from Letter 5 from Captain Fenwick on the Company's affairs in Bengal, 1747-48. Orme Collection, India, VI.

To Return to my Remarks on what has fell out in a military way, you will please to recollect, I was ordered by Governor

[1] In the Orme Collection there are five 'letters from a Gentleman who had resided thirty years in the English East India Company's service in the Province of Bengal, &c. to his Friend in London.' This gentleman is evidently Thomas Fenwick, son of Sarah Fenwick, appointed a writer in the Company's service in 1721. His service in India is dated from September 8, 1721, though he actually arrived at Calcutta by the *Heathcote* on March 27, 1722. He was at first stationed at Calcutta, but was sent to Dacca in 1723. Here he became involved in a dispute between the Company's servants, but was in the end declared to have done his duty in exposing an attempt to defraud the Company. On February 12, 1730, he was sent second to Patna, where he must have fallen into difficulties, and lost his service; for on June 7, 1739, on the resignation of Captain Thomas Massey, the Council appointed him to succeed as youngest Lieutenant in Captain Commandant William Holcombe's Company of Foot, 'in regard to his being greatly reduced by misfortunes, and believing him well qualified.' On January 5, 1744, he married Elizabeth Badman, by whom he had issue Thomas, baptized April 18, 1745; Elizabeth, April 19, 1746; William, baptized August 21, 1747, buried January 26, 1748; Edward, baptized July 5, 1748; and another William, baptized June 16, 1749. In all the entries in the parish register he is styled 'Captain,' but as a matter of fact he was not given a Captain's commission till August 21, 1747. He claims to have been on friendly terms with Braddyll, Forster, and Captain Holcombe. He represents Calcutta as panic-struck in 1747 at the possibility of an attack by the French. Volunteers were called for to make up the ships' crews, but all hung back till Fenwick came forward and induced no less than forty to join. Fenwick was then ordered to attack the Marāṭhas, whom he thought it would have been better to leave alone. The extracts given follow his account of his proceedings, and come from the latter portion of the fifth letter. On November 10, 1755, he was permitted to return to Europe for the recovery of his health and the settlement of his family affairs.

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Forster, to sieze upon the Commander of the Morattoes encamped at Dean's Town,[1] was I to drop upon him with my detachment in a cloud, and when he had him, he repeats no inclination to thresh Him then, but there have been so many remarkable Errors founded upon Politicks, that can never agree, as well to the sending out detachments, as spending large Sums upon distant works that cannot be defended, or succoured by the Garrison, that in my Opinion, Merchants should not be trusted to determine the Efficacy of any Military Considerations, but in a Council of War, and the Company will distinguish the Capacity of the Captains they Employ, from the Result of such Councils; However there does not seem to have been so much real Attention to the Service of defence, as in troublesome times, our Governors by an Ostentatious Extravagance, have noised their diligence to give them a Reputation with the Company; and this may be Politick enough in regard to both, if they would be honest and frugal in the execution, by making a great Bustle at a small expence, which can be done to amuse all parties, and in appearance soften the dangers, we might otherwise be thought to be in; for I conjecture upon every Alarm, the Proprietors are jealous of the Directors managements, which are evils should be kept at a distance as much as possible; and I think every man must be of a turbulent, if not Dishonest principle, who exaggerates upon Surmises, or even in facts to injure the Company's Credit. . . .

In the second year of the Morattoes' entring Bengal, Allyverdy Cawn our Nabob, sent a publick Compliment to Governor Bradyll, with a Surpaw [*sar-o-pā*] (or Rich Habit) warning him to be upon his Guard against the Morattoes, and requesting that he would prevent their crossing the River, as much as in our Power; the Governor did me the Honour to appoint me to command the detachment on this publick Occasion, when he went to receive the Surpaw, which is always out of the Fort and as soon as the Ceremony was over, I was Ordered with a Party on board a Sloop to cruise upon the River, to watch the Morattoes Motions and prevent their crossing agreable to the Nabob's Advice and Request; upon my Return, (as I was a constant attendant upon Mr. Bradyll,

[1] i.e., Dane's Town, where the Danes had a thatched house on the west side of the river opposite Hugli Point, south of the Rupnarain.

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because he would have it so) I represented to him the probability of having any favour conferred upon the Company for their Security in these troublesome times, as was done at Cassimbazar, and proposed a Large Redoubt, upon the Point of the Ganges near Dean's Town, and shewed him the whole design would soon Reimburse the Company and over pay the Establishment ever after; first, from a much less Consideration from each English boat passing and repassing (conformable to the Burthen) than the Morattoes extort; for we do not want to Quarrel with them about Customs allowed, but extraordinary Impositions, that the greatest Rice Market in Bengal (except that in the Woods) would be re-established, and a very considerable Income arise from the Customs. . . .

I further put the Governor in mind of an Hospital on that spot, which stands high, and would not require more than two Subalterns, and thirty Soldiers, with the Peons and the Inhabitants to keep the Morattoes at a proper distance. As the Hospital would be a Receptacle for our sick Soldiers, so it lies convenient for the ships Anchoring either at Culpee, or Ingelee to send their sick Men to. I further added to make it a place for stores, Anchors, Cables, and top masts, that any ship in distress, whether passed or below the Redoubt might be readily assisted with any of these necessaries; or if she run aground which latter is frequent, and to which End 20 Lascars should be kept there with Proper Boats, to be ready upon any Emergency; and all such Right the Company might have to any Salvage, would come in, and they should dispose of their own Anchors, Cables, &c. . . .

I must observe the Possession of Lands, so situated, as may be easily protected, will always overpay the Expence considerably, beside the Advantage of commanding the whole produce of the Company's Investments, and though formerly the President and Council did not go about heartily to secure the Contents of our Phirmaund; in all its Articles, yet to take in so small a tract contiguous to Calcutta, is amazing, unless they thought in those early Days, they had fixed upon more than they wanted by permitting the Merchants to have such large Spots of Coconut gardens without reflecting upon the probability of the encreases of those Inhabitants, as it has fell out, and those, unwholesome

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Spots by being overloaded with Trees, are now become a Nusance, creating a Stagnation near the Air, and depriving the Colony of some thousands of useful hands, that would occupy those places; I say it is amazing they did not establish Calcutta to the full extent, as mentioned in the Phirmaund, which reaches to the Lake, and so in a circle to the Dutch bounds at Baragor, And is what the Nabob never disputed about that I ever heard; for what is contiguous to the capital Settlement, was not the dispute, it was about the Towns on the other side of the River, and they were weakly or treacherously given up to Oblige the Merchants, what I have related concerning Dean's Town and the Advantages, were my Observations to Mr. Bradyll, and I repeated them to Mr. Forster, the first kept up a private understanding with the Morattoes, the other would have done the same, but did not know how, yet when the Company's silk was plundered at Cutwa (an article the Morattoes did not know what to do with) it was stolen into Calcutta afterwards, and at this time a great part of it lies unsold at Madrass; but this is a private history, Omychund [Amichand] is best acquainted with. . . .

I shall . . . shorten these Military Observations with a discourse, I had with Mr. Forster on this Subject, when we had apprehended a Visit from the French. . . .

One fine Moonlight night, when the Company broke up, he called me to him; and after we were seated in the Balcony, over the Wharf Battery, Asked my Opinion about the defence of the Place, I answered, that as he was pleased to require it, it was my duty plainly to tell him what I had concealed hitherto, that I had but a very indifferent one of it; and more so, from the Constructions of the Gabions below, pointing to them, for a number were in hand, and several finished, made so pliant, that I could crush them flat, and were with a large bellied bottom, and small at top, in the form of a Pear, or rather like an Onion basket, he took no notice of my reflection on them, but next morning I saw they were all moved off, and others set about, with thick split Bamboos and were Cylindrical, open at both ends as they ought to be; It is true, Hamilton was a Man of true Courage of the best sort, for he was circumspect and cool in Action, with great bravery, but I think, not otherwise calculated for the defence of a place. The

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Governor told me of Barricades and Pallisades he intended; I answered there would be so many Inlets when we thought all secured, that we should find our selves deceived, and if those works were carried round no further than half Musket Shot, from the Fort, most of whose Guns would be silenced by the near Buildings, we could not man and support them; I found by some of his talk, he depended upon what defence the Fort could make, and that some dispositions had been settled to that end, upon which, I told him, tho' I was no Engineer, yet these Suspicious times, had put me upon looking into some of the best Authors on fortification, but a man who had not, might, with very little Attention, discover, our fort could not be defended, and no enemy who knew its weakness would recieve (*sic*) it but at discretion; therefore I gave it as my Opinion, the best prospect was to give the Militia, the guard of the Fort, and form four detachments of the Military, which would be 160 in each, with two field pieces. . . .

But Sir, says I, the Fort, weak as it is, may be made difficult of Access by cutting a Ditch and taking in the Church, throw its top and fill all up with the Earth of the Ditch leaving a passage up, this Conceit made him laugh for many days when he saw me, but I told him the Weakest side of the Fort was next the River and most likely to be attempted, now I have examined the Situation of the Church and find it commands the whole Gorges of the four Bastions, which I explained to him, and the next morning convinced him of it, and showed him, it also commanded the whole fort, except a part of the Curtain to the River, covered by the House, and that an enemy could not make a Lodgment in any part against such heavy Cannon as might be mounted on the Church, which would in its Structure and Height become a Cavalier, superior to any Battery the Enemy could Erect, as it must be done in sight, and would prove a Counter Battery, of much heavier Weight of Metal, than they would be able to bring against us, but my Friend, all ended in an ignorant Stoccado, of which I have taken notice of before, and was a notorious Robbery.[1]

[1] Fenwick clearly agrees with Plaisted as to the uselessness of the palisades (see extract 202).

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208. Accounts of the Fortifications and Revenues in 1747.[1]

Extracts from General Letters from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, January 10, 1748 (*paragraphs* 225-227), *and February* 24, 1748 (*paragraphs* 113, 115, *and* 118). *Bengal Letters received, Vol. Ia.*

225. *January* 10.—Your Honours will please to observe in our Consultation of the 17th March we took into Consideration the best method of Fortifying the weakest Part of the Factory Viz. The new Godowns and what We have done therein appears upon that Consultation.

226. Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted Engineer informing us that some part of the Barracks was the most proper place to make Bombproof, especially as the timbers thereof were very rotten and must necessarily be removed We that day[2] agreed that a part of each End should be appropriated for that purpose and be immediately set about and as he advised against pallisadoeing the Fort it being useless and expensive, We agreed that such Pallisadoes as were then provided, should be applied to the Ends of the wharf, w[h]ere the Walls were very low.

227. On the 3d September Captain Commandant Robert Hamilton sent in his proposals for strengthning the Place in the best and most expeditious manner it would bear which we thought highly necessary to Comply with and then ordered them to be set about immediately. His proposals are entered after that Days Consultation.

113. *February* 24.—Having given your Honours a full Account of our Proceedings in regard to Strengthening our Fortifications in our Address per *Warwick*, we shall now proceed to lay before your Honours the state of your revenues for the last year.

115. On the 24th November Mr. William Kempe Zemindar acquainted the Board that the Buzars were so bad in the rainy season that the Country People deserted them and as the Expence

[1] This is almost the last of Forster's administration. He died in March, 1748, and Mr. John Jackson, who had been appointed to succeed him, also died on March 20. Consequently, on April 18, 1748, William Barwell, who was next in standing, assumed charge of the government of Calcutta.

[2] April 13.

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of repairing them was calculated at about One thousand (1,000) Rupees We ordered him to perform that Service.

118. Having always in view how to promote your Honours Interest and Advantage in the branch of your Revenues and having received Information that a Spot of Ground in extent one hundred fifty five (155) Beagres and Five Cottahs laying and situated to the Eastward of Calcutta about a League distance from it formerly belonging to the Districts of this Place and after many Arguments and Debates having convinced the Zemindars and other Proprietors of your Honours Title to this Spot of Ground They did at length entirely give up their Claims upon which We set up your Honours Flag and erected a Cutcheree there We have also set up a Buzar and Market and named the Place John Nagore[1] which is now inhabited by Three hundred sixty seven (367) Families or Houses These Families are chiefly Composed of Caulkers Weavers Peons &c[a] And the Revenues thereof Collected the first year being 1746 was rupees Seven hundred fifty five Rupees Thirteen Annas and three Pie (755 . 13 . 3) as will appear by the Account Revenues of that year and that from April to the last October 1747 it amounted to Six hundred Eighty seven Rupees Nine Annas (687 . 9) and We are in hopes hereafter to make larger Additions as well in the number of Inhabitants as likewise the Revenue of the Place which we hope will meet with your Honours approval.

209. PLAISTED COMPLAINS THAT HE HAS BEEN SUSPENDED FOR DOING HIS DUTY.

Letter from Bartholomew Plaisted, endorsed 'Letter to The Board against the Bannians, Paragraph the 6th.' Miscellaneous Letters received, 1748. Vol. 34.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,—When first I had the Honour to be employed in the Honourable Companys Service I laid it down as my Rule of Conduct to Act with Honour and Honesty, to serve my employers in the best manner I could to Exert my Authority whenever their Interest required it, to give my opinion uncontrol'd and to take care nothing was done but what I surveyed first

[1] Johnnagar lay on the other side of the Circular Road, at the end of Theatre Road, as may be seen in Upjohn's map of Calcutta.

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and to Act imedeately for the Companys Interest, and none other, but its a Mallancholly Consideration to me that tho' I have often attempted it, Yet I have many times failed therein, by my Duty being newly moddel'd by them that have no Authority to do it, for I know of no Power that can set aside my doing what is my Indispensable Duty excepting the Orders of the Board, and I humbly conceive that the Duty of a Person in my Station has always been thought to consist in these three things—

First.—To Survey and report all Materials that are to be bought for the Companys Buildings as a Proof of this must refer Your Honours &c[a] to the book of written Orders where will be found many of this kind to my Predecessor.

Secondly.—To Survey and Report all Buildings that are to be built New or repair'd, to calculate the Expence and nothing to be done but the Surveyor to make a Report thereof and for a Proof of this Your Honour &c will find in the said Book.

Thirdly.—It has always been thought the indispensable Duty of the Person in my Station for this 15 Years last past to keep an exact account of every thing that goes out of the Buxey Canna [*bakhshīkhāna*][1] for which I am allowed ten Rupees per Mensem and for which ten Rupees I keep three Banians [*banyās*][2] that is to Say one who sits with Ramram to keep an Account independant of his another goes round to count every Person at the Place where they work the third goes and sees every bit of Chunam &c Materials weigh'd and deliver'd.

I am now to crave leave to inform Your Honour &c that I have been suspended from executing the two first of these Articles by some unknown Authority that I am sure I know nothing of, this Issue it has neves been by the Authority of the Board and now the last and boldest stroke is taken to render my Post as Useless as the Banians can wish these Steps have hitherto been gently progressive towards making me their Tool but now the last and boldest Stroke is taken to Enable them to do what they Please (I little thought they would have taken such a Great Stride) in short by an Authority that I do not acknowledge Ramram the Buxey's Banian [*bakhshī's banyā*] has hinder'd my People from taking any Accounts which Accounts of mine redounds to the Honour of the

[1] The military stores. [2] Assistants.

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Buxey when they act fairly and above Board Mr. Jackson thought so when He used over and over to command me strictly to take Care that nothing was. Expended but what I or my People Saw deliver'd in consequence of this order and Regulation I have hitherto sign'd a Daily account but since the third of this month they have done what they Pleased, as this is the last Effort I make in behalf of the Honourable Company and I think evidently for their Interest with Submission to Your Honours I request that Ramram may for this Usurpation give such sattisfaction as Your Honour &c shall see meet while I with Pleasure Observe I can do the Duty I owe to the Company back't by the Authority of the Board in such a manner as conduces to their interest; In case any reflections should be cast on me on account of this Representation I hope I shall be indulged the Liberty of making replication theretoo and Explain my own Meaning for the Cause I am Pleading is not my own but the Honourable Companys.

I am with great Respect, Honourable Sir and Sirs

Your most Obedient Servant,

B. PLAISTED.

May 7th, 1748.

NOTE.—This Paper tho' delivered in May 7th had no notice taken of it till the 20th which day I sent in to desire it might have a hearing.—B. P.

210. THE TOWN OF CALCUTTA TO BE PUT IN ORDER.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, June 17, 1748. *Letter Book No.* 27.

28. It is with Concern We observe the Town was rendered Sickly by the Drains being suffered to be Stopt, and other Encroachments, which shows the Jemindar and others have been Negligent, in all populous Places, the due Authority must constantly be kept up proper Regulations form'd and put in Execution, otherwise the Inhabitants will soon be guilty of Disorders.

29. You Acquaint us that on a Survey in the Month of October the Jemindar was to Order the Ditches to be Opened as Drains to the Town, at the expence of those who filled them up, and to give the Drains the Necessary Repairs, which together with

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every other Requisit, We expect was done effectually, to render the Settlement Sweet and Wholsome.

33. Inform Us the Tenour by which the Houses in the Town of Calcutta are held for the future, Houses belonging to our Servants or any English must not be sold to Moors or any Black Merchants whatsoever.

211. Establishment of the Artillery Company and Appointment of a Chief Engineer.

Letter from the Court to Governor of Fort William. London, June 17, 1748. Letter Book No. 27.

1. Sir,—That you may know our Intention by employing Captain Alexander Delavaux[1] as Chief Engineer of all Our Settlements, We send you herewith for your Government a Copy of our Instructions to Our Governour of Fort St. David relative to the Services required of the said Engineer, and the manner in which We direct them to be carried into Execution on that Coast, but as it is uncertain if the Chief Engineer may go to Bengal for some Years to come, and as the Situation of Our several Settlements, as well as the Connexions they have with Indian Governments in their Neighbourhood are extreamly different, as well from the various Natures of the Governments in Provinces so remote one from the other, as from the different footing on which Our Establishments were first Formed or put into our Possession, and from the manner in which Our Commerce hath been carried on at each Place, We are therefore sensible for the above Reasons, and by reason of the many Expensive Buildings which must be demolish'd to make Room for a regular Fortification and Esplanade of a proper Extent round it, That the Rules laid down for the Coast of Choromandell may not be altogether proper for Calcutta, We moreover consider that were We inclin'd to go to the Expence of Demolishing those Buildings and Erecting such a regular Fortification that without an outer inclosure, much the greater Number of the Merchants and other Principal

[1] Mr. Alexander Delavaux was given a Captain's commission by the Court on January 20, 1748. On January 27 he was appointed Chief Engineer and Captain of the Train of Artillery at Fort St. David. On July 12, 1749, he was discharged from the Company's service.

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Inhabitants would be continually Exposed to be plunder'd or carried off by any Enemys who please to Attempt it, and would have no Shelter against an Invasion from the Morattas, or even against the Countrey Government, whenever they think fit to have Disputes with You.

2. It is plain from the Apprehensions You was under on the Loss of Madrass, lest the French should destroy You next, that You neither thought your own Strength though supported at that time by Six of His Majesty's Ships, nor the Neutrality of the Countrey a sufficient security, and You at all times stand so much in Awe of the Countrey Government, that they easily and shamefully raise immense Contributions upon You at the Company's Expence, though almost always under pretence of Abuses in carrying on Private Trade.

3. For these Reasons in Order to put the Company's Possessions and Estate in Bengal in as perfect a State of Security as We are able for the future, We have made a new Establishment of our Military, and have Order'd a regular Company of Artillery to be Erected, and have framed Regulations for the good Government and Discipline of both, which are to be strictly comply'd with, But as these new Measures and Expences will be rather hurtful than beneficial to the Company unless sufficient and Proper Fortifications be made for Defence, in such a manner as to cover the most Essential Parts of the Company's Bounds from being easily insulted by any Nation whatsoever, We are therefore desirous to have such necessary Works set about in the most Expeditious and Frugal manner that can be conveniently done, But as We have no Plan of Calcutta whereby We can form a true Judgment of the Extent or Nature of the Fortifications Requisit for this Purpose, We must rely on your Prudence in Conjunction with that of Major Mossman[1] to act therein in the manner You

[1] James Mosman, Ensign in the Earl of Orkney's Foot, August, 1712; Lieutenant in the 30th Foot (Bisset's), March 29, 1721; Captain, March 1, 1739; Major in the 55th Foot (Long's), October 7, 1742. The date of his first commission is doubtful. Millan's *Succession of Colonels*, 1745, gives April 1, 1712; the manuscript army lists in the English Record Office give August 1, 1712; the Commission Book of 1712, p. 58, in a 'List of Officers of Lieutenant-General George Hamilton's late Regiment of Foot, whose commissions were lost at Marchienne in Flanders,' gives August 15, 1712. On February 25, 1748, the Court appointed him Major of the Garrison of

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two may judge will best Answer our Intentions, Taking the Advice of those about you who are the most Skill'd in Works of that Nature, and whose Sincerity can be best relyed on.

4. From the best Information We have been able to get, If two small Forts in the Nature of Field Forts be Erected, one at the most convenient Places near each Extremity of the Company's Bounds near the River Side, and that those Forts especially the lower One be so disposed as to cover a Battery of large Guns to prevent Ships coming before the Factory, And if from these two New Forts a line be drawn round the Company's Bounds, or round so much of them as may be thought necessary, Flanking in the Nature of a cover'd way with Places of Arms, and Defended by a broad Ditch and substantial Ramparts of Earth, We think such Works may fully answer our Intention. In setting about such Works the only Things to be considered are, how far you may be Embarrass'd with the Countrey Government, and what the Expence of the Works may amount to.

5. As to the Countrey Government We cannot foresee what Objection they can with any sort of Justice or Reason make to Our Erecting Works of that Nature, for Our Security against European Enemys, Experience having proved no Regard is paid by the French to the Neutrality of the Mogul's Dominions, and that were the Countrey Government willing to protect Us, they are not able to do it against the French, who having little to lose, are always prone to violate the Laws of Nations to inrich themselves by plunder. The Nabob cannot but be sensible that His Revenues are Supported chiefly by the Immense Sums We Yearly Import into his Dominions, and must know what a stagnation it would Create in his Finances, if Calcutta were to be taken by the French, and laid waste in the manner Madrass hath been, He cannot or ought not to be jealous, that the making the Fortifications proposed is in Order to Annoy him, or to make Us be less

Fort William in Bengal on the same terms as Major Lawrence at Fort St. David. On March 2 he was allowed 100 guineas for expenses, and on April 20 he was permitted to take out a servant and £800 in foreign silver (see Court Book). As he was an ensign in 1712, he could not have been much less than fifty years old at the time of his appointment to Bengal. No wonder he died of fever in less than two months!

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Dependant upon him than We now are, since it is certain, by having Our Capital Settlement well secured against Our Enemys, We shall be encouraged to carry on our Trade with more Spirit, and to a greater Extent than We have hitherto done, as We shall have a Place of more Security to keep our Goods in after they are bought, and as the Company's Investments must continue to be carryed on in the remote Parts of his Dominions, where the several Goods are produced or fabricated We shall continue to be dependant on his Government, as We have hitherto been, and these Additional Fortifications at Calcutta can be no Annoyance to him, as they cannot be moved, and are calculated only for Self Defence, If it be Objected that these Fortifications will make Us more independant than We now are, because it may be less in the Power of the Government to distress the place than it now is from it's being Open, The Answer is, That the Fort is already Strong enough to Protect it Self against any Force of the Countrey, and that in case of Necessity, new Works sufficient to secure the Bounds against them could be thrown up before they can bring an Army against you.

6. If these and such like Arguments do not prevail upon the Nabob to acquiesce in your setting about the Works without Molestation, You are to let him know in a proper manner, you have our Orders to make Calcutta as secure as You can against the French or any other European Enemy, And that if he obstructs You in following these Orders, You are forbid to Issue any Money for Trade, and must do the best You can to fulfil them, That You shall be sorry to be obliged to take such Measures as may be Ruinous to his Revenues, and the Trade of the Countrey in General, and may add, the King of England having the Protection of the Company greatly at heart, as they may perceive by the Strong Force he hath sent to the East Indies, to chastise the French for their Insolence at Madrass, His Majesty will support the Company in whatever they may think fit to do for their future Security, for though a Peace is now making with France, no one knows how long it may last, and when War is broke out, it is always too late to make Fortifications strong enough to make Defence against an Enterprizing Enemy, as appears from what happened at Madrass, where strong Works

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were Erecting, but could not be half finish'd before the French Attackt and took the place.

7. Having come to a Resolution with Major Mossman on the Fortifications proposed, or such others as may be judged will best Answer Our Intentions, You are to make an Estimate of the Expence, Taking care to do it as exactly as You can, and that every thing be done in the most frugal and compleat manner, And before you begin to carry them into Execution, You are to try to ease the Company of the Burden as much as can be done with Prudence by Endeavouring to persuade the Principal Merchants and other Inhabitants to contribute Generously thereto, as the Merchants and Inhabitants of other Places have heretofore done when Works of that Nature have been undertaken for their Security. The Example set by those at Pondicherry, where the Wall lately Built enclosing the whole Town was carryed on principally, if not totally, at the Voluntary Expence of the Inhabitants, may, We hope Excite those of Calcutta to be as ready to Contribute as they were who live under the French Protection have been, especially if they consider the outer Line is calculated chiefly for their Safety, as one of a much less extent would suffice to secure the Company's Effects, should the Merchants and Inhabitants not be willing to contribute towards the Expence of the new Works. You are nevertheless to set about them with all convenient Diligence, and to consider what Tax may be laid on the Inhabitants in the manner the least Burthensome, to the most Industrious and poorer sort of them, that the Company may have an increase of Revenue, which may in time Compensate for part of the Expence of the Fortifications, and this We think may be done in some equitable way, so as to be hardly felt in so populous a Place. But we direct that no such new Tax be raised till We have approved of it.

8. After having Survey'd the Ground, and laid your Plan for all the different Works, which We intend to be of Earth only, unless in such Parts of them as it may be absolutely necessary to use Brick, Timber, or other Materials, you are to provide for so much of the Works as can be finisht in one Season, before the Rains come on, beginning with such Parts as may be most immediately necessary, but before you actually begin upon the Works, You are

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to take care that all the Goods expected from the Aurungs [*aurangs*] or Subordinate Factorys to be laden on Our returning Ships of the Season, be within reach, so as not to Risque a Disappointment, by their being Stopt on the way at Places from whence you cannot easily force them, and if you apprehend the least danger to our People at the Subordinate Factorys, you are to recal them and are not to Issue any Money by way of Dadney, or send any Goods into the Country for the Company's Account, giving Notice to the Merchants to act in like manner till you renew the Company's Trade.

9. By taking these Precautions the Nabobs Intentions will soon be discover'd, If he make any attempt to Attack or Disturb You, You are immediately to stop all Navigation upon the River to the utmost of your Power in every Branch, Suffering no Vessel or Boat to stir whether Laden or Empty, except such as belong to European Settlements, who have a right to give Dusticks or Passes for the River, giving previous notice to the Chiefs and Council of such Settlements, to give their Dusticks or Passes to all Boats or vessels belonging to them, or those living under their Protection, warning them at the same time to prevent any Misunderstanding, that if they grant Dusticks or Passes to any others, You shall be obliged to show no regard to them.

10. We make no Question, but on your adhering strictly to these Orders, the Nabob will soon come to reason in time to go on with the Investment for the Ensuing Season, as We know what a Distress these Measures must lay him under, not only from the Apprehension of our forbearing to Issue Money, but on account of the Salt, which contributes so much to his Revenue, and this Distress will Affect the whole Countrey, as almost all their Necessarys of Life are constantly going and coming by Water for the Supply of their Markets.

11. If the Nabob permits you to go on quietly with the Works, You are to remain quiet, but not to return our People to the Subordinate Settlements, or to Issue any Money for Goods till You [have] made some Progress in the Works, and till you are satisfied as much as can be, by such a perfidious People, that the Nabob will not give them any Molestation or Interruption to our Trade.

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12. We know it may require several Seasons to perfect all the necessary Works, but as We think the only struggle You will have with the Countrey Government on this Account will be at first, especially if you shew a determin'd Resolution, We presume You may go on with them Quietly afterwards, as the Chief time of Working will fall out towards the end of one season and before the beginning of the next, during which time You cannot be molested on taking the above Precautions.

13. So soon as you have settled the Plan for the whole Fortification, You are to prevent any persons possess'd of Grounds necessary to be kept clear for carrying it into Execution, from Building or Planting thereon, or Mangling them by any other means so as to Impede the Works, or make them more Expensive than they would be otherwise, and You are to get such Ground Exchanged upon an Equitable footing, against vacant Pieces of Grounds belonging to the Company, if such Grounds belong to Persons living under Our Protection, You are to let them know. We Expect they make no difficulty in Accomodating Us, and if they belong to any of the Neighbouring Zemindars, whose Lands may Indent with the Company's, We doubt not, but You may either purchase or hire them for ever, or Exchange them on reasonable Terms. These Precautions ought to be taken before it be known what Uses those Grounds are for, or as the Ditch proposed will be an Excellent drain to the whole Place, and will far Exceed any other that can be made, it may be pretended that is the use they are to be put to. On giving You this hint, You will easily judge how proper it will [be] to contrive all your Drains so as to adapt them to your Fortifications, by which means great part of the Intended Ditch may be made under the Colour of making Drains, before your real Intention becomes Publick to the Countrey Government.

14. The above are our present Thoughts, but You must Proceed no further on this Plan than to Erect the lower Fort on the North Side of the Creek near by Govindpore, which We think will effectually Command Tannah Reach and Battery, until You hear further from Us, taking care that the Works are so Situated as not to be in danger of being undermined by the Tide or Freshes.

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15. In the mean time, You are to consider the whole Plan very maturely, make an Estimate of the Expence and let us know what part of it We may expect to be paid by the Inhabitants, and send Us a Plan of your Place, and the Works proposed to be made.

16. Notwithstanding the above, if You, the Second and Major be of Opinion that it will be better to postpone the Erecting of the lower Fort and Batterys till you have thoroughly considered the Utility of them, and given Us your Sentiments thereon, You are in such Case to wait for Our Answer before you begin.

We are,

Your loving Friends,

RICHARD CHAUNCY, *Chairman.*

WM BRAUND	H. GOUGH
HENRY PLANT	SAML FEAKE
RT BOOTLE	MICHAEL IMPEY
RT HUDSON	THOS ROUS
WM RIDER	WHICHCOTT TURNER
WM WILLY	J. WINTER
R. DRAKE	WM MABBOTT
ALEX HUME	CHRISTO BURROW

LONDON,
17*th June*, 1748.

212. MR. HAMPTON APPOINTED SURVEYOR. PRISON TO BE REPAIRED.[1]

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, June 20, *and August* 15, 1748. *Range I., Vol. XXI.*

June 20.—There being no Surveyor appointed by the Board AGREED that Mr. Charles Hampton Senior be appointed to that service.

August 15.—The Zemindar acquainting the Board that the Catwall Prison[2] is in bad Condition with the late heavy Rains.

ORDERED the same to be Repaired.

[1] These proceedings were reported in General Letter from Bengal to the Court, Fort William, November 19, 1748, paragraphs 88 and 89.

[2] I understand the *koṭwāl* prison to be not the 'town jail' in Lāl Bāzār, but the '*hariṇbāṛī* jail' to the north of Tirretta Bāzār (see extract 257).

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213. Boscawen and the Defences of Fort William.

Extracts from Letter from Boscawen to Barwell, October 3, 1748, *and Letter from Barwell to Boscawen, November* 28, 1748, *quoted in Barwell's Letter to the Secret Committee in England, dated December* 23, 1748. *Miscellaneous Letters received,* 1747-48, *Vol.* 34.

October 3. Boscawen to Barwell.—By the Account you are pleas'd to give me of your Defences, and the Strength of your Garrison, the Fort does not appear to be a place capable of making any long Resistance, and therefore I should think you cannot be too much upon your Guard;—The Neutrality of the Country Government is by no means to be depended on, as may be seen by woefull Experience from what happened to Madrass; and I am pretty certain Schemes have been formed on both Sides in Europe, for dislodging each other from their Settlements in the Ganges—And as to the Topasses, I assure you they have behaved extreamly well with me, and I don't doubt will do as well behind Walls as Europeans, So that if you can increase their Number, I should judge it adviseable to do it. . . .

November 28. Barwell to Boscawen.—In my last I took the liberty to write you what I thought necessary concerning our Scituation and the State of Defence we are in, which I observe you esteem of no great worth, nor really is it of much, though I have already taken into pay all the Topasses and other People I could possibly procure, but there are very few to be got, and the Topasses here are nothing like those on the Bombay side, therefore I take the liberty to recommend to your Consideration whether it will not be Eligible to send us three or four hundred Men for our more certain Defence, as from this Place the Company must draw their most valuable Investments.

Your Observation is assuredly just that the Neutrality under the Country Government is by no means to be depended on, However it cannot be quite so easy to break through so far up a River as if it was near the Sea Side, and where the Power of the Europeans is exceedingly more extensive, and they rather Command the Country Government than the Government them, But here it is something otherwise, However as a fair opportunity will

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not be let slip by that artfull and faithless nation, you will please to Afford some Reflection on the former Paragraph and act therein as you shall think most Eligible for our Companys and Countrys Interest.

214. FRESH PLANS NOT TO BE EXECUTED TILL FURTHER ORDERS.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, December 2, 1748. Paragraph 18. Letter Book No. 27.

If Captain Delavaux the Engineer from Fort St. David comes to your Place, receive his Plans and Proposals for any Works for the better Defence of your Settlement, and transmit them to Us with proper Estimates, but do not put them into Execution till you receive our Further Orders.[1]

215. PLAISTED REPRESENTS HIS CASE TO BARWELL.

Letter from Bartholomew Plaisted to William Barwell, Esq. Miscellaneous Letters received, 1748, Vol. 34.

TO THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM BARWELL, ESQ[R].

HONOURABLE SIR,—I crave leave in the most Respectfull manner to Represent to Your Honour the Reason for the Step I'm going to take having some hopes Yet that my Reputation which I am very tenacious of may appear clear and unspotted for I hope Your Honour will Excuse me if I cant help interpreting the Decree of June the 20th[2] as Injurious to my Character and Repu-

[1] As a matter of fact, hardly anything was done about the fortifications and buildings of Calcutta in 1748 or in 1749 till the arrival of Major Mosman. On August 15, 1748, the Council ordered the *kotwāl* prison to be repaired. On January 11, 1749, they ordered the wharf to Sūtānuṭī market to be rebuilt 'by taxing the Merchants who live there abouts in proportion to their Ground.' But, on March 13, they were 'acquainted the Merchants would not acquiesce to an Order for making a Wharf to the Road leading to Soota Loota Buzar, therefore [they] ordered the Zemindar to repair the same and debit the Merchants Accounts for the Amount.' See Abstracts of Bengal General Letters, November 19, 1748 (paragraph 89), January 27, 1749 (paragraph 18), and August 10, 1749 (paragraph 45), in the Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, Vol. 5.

[2] Compare extract 212 above.

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tation on many Accounts; perticulars as follows for since Your Honour has granted me some Paragraphs relating to my self so I can now speak to them with Propriety and first when I came with that complaint against the Banians I appear'd at the Council Board as the Surveyor of the Companys Works this the Board denyed me; an Argument of this kind knockt all in the Head I had further to say because what I was to bring was in consequence of my being Surveyor accordingly the Council decreed

That there being no Surveyor appointed by the Board agreed that Mr. Charles Hampton Senior be appointed to that Service.

Does not this Evidently treat me as an impostor for if I appear'd before Your Honour &c. as Surveyor and was not I must endeavour to impose upon the Board and He that imposes if I may be Allowed to understand my Country tongue is an Impostor not to mention that the decreeing me no Surveyor was evidently at the same time decreeing I had no Right to lay a Complaint against the Banians and the Victory they gain'd by my being turn'd out upon it shews he must be a Hardy Fool indeed after such a Precedent that serves the Company on the like Occasion.

I am now to prove to Your Honours I was Surveyor of the Companys Works and Appointed by the Board consequently had a Right to lay any Complaint in behalf of the Company by refering your Honour to the Following Paragraph.

GENERAL LETTER,[1] 1745.

Paragraph 83. 'Sometime ago John Alofze Surveyor of Your Honours Works dying we appointed Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted who is Esteem'd a very Capable Person in his room at the Usuall Sallery.'

Nor can it be denyed but its to be found on Consultation that I am Surveyor being so Intitled in the last Paragraph of Oct 21st 1745 which begins thus 'Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted Surveyor of the Honourable Companys Works.'

After this I am willing Your Honours should judge whether I have not reason to complain, because that Complaint against the Banian run in this Manner that my Duty consisting of three material Parts they had denyed me the Priviledge of Executing it

[1] Compare extract 197 above.

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and refer'd to some Books to prove my Assertions (which by the by was never produced) in Answer to this Mr. Kempe at the Council Board was pleased to Say it was his Order, Yet Mr. Kempe never attempted to say he had ever acquainted me it was his Order though my Complaint lay before the[m] Six Weeks on that Account which he well knew; why then did he not during that Six Weeks endeavour to undeceive Me, No. on the other hand he seem'd to resolve that I should be punish'd in a most Ignominious manner because I would not pay a tacit Obedience to a Banian who I hope whatever superiority they may pretend to by the decree of June 20 are still my inferiors and I cannot bring myself to believe that if that order which was *that I should not Inspect into the Materiales deliver'd* been decreed detrimentall to the Companys Interest that it would any way have favour'd my Cause to have Answer'd *The Banians was pleased to order so* and I say I am well Assured that the Reply would have been, *that the Banians had no Power to Order me* nor *was that any excuse for my Obeying* but that nothing of that kind might be retorted on me was the Reason I laid that Complaint before the Board and the consequence to Me is too fresh in Your Honours Memory to need any Repetition, therefore not to prolong this Letter this is the true Reason of my discontent after having Relinquish'd the Command of two very good Ships to serve the Company which I have done three Year and a half and I hope with Integrity and now am forced to England to retrieve that Character and to Amend that Fortune I have decreased in the Companys Service by serving them too Honestly. After this it may appear a little Odd to Ask a favour at the time I am representing my Suffering yet as I find it's blown my going home which I would not absolutely fix on before I spoke to Your Honour I thought it necessary to say thus much at present to the Occasion But being inform'd Your Honour proposes to have a train of Artilary Officer'd accordingly as I was regularly brought up and Educated in Fortification and Gunnery which if any one disputes my Abilitys in, I am willing to depossit in the Companys Cash 1000 Rupees provided my Opponent will deposit 500 after which we will interchange in Writing Questions to be Solved by the other Party he then who gives the most Solutions shall be intitled to the Post and the Money likewise

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and I propose Mr. Fullerton who is well versed in the Mathematicks to be judge —— From this Proposall so fair I hope I may have Your Honours [support] that if a Company is form'd on the footing I have mention'd to have the prior Claim as the Captain, this Sir will be doing me a favour which I shall perticularly acknowledge from your Honour and I shall Esteem it an Equivalent for all my Sufferings which give me Leave to say are very great for while other People make fortunes by serving the Company I have lost One.

When I give this Challenge it would be a presumption in me to Challenge the Whole World that not being my Intentions therefore that I may not be misunderstood I include only such Gentlemen who are present Inhabitants of Calcutta taking all the Military Officers and Gunners these being the Gentlemen I imagine ready to Sollicit for the Post.

I hope Your Honour will Excuse my Stating my Sufferings first by which I assure you I intend to cast no reflections but a Wound to the Quick must needs give some Smart.

I am, with the greatest Respect,
Your Honours most Obedient Servant,
BARTHOLOMEW PLAISTED.

December 2d, 1748.

216. THE COUNCIL ORDERED TO WAIT FOR MAJOR MOSMAN.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, January 27, 1749. Paragraph 61. Letter Book No. 27.

You are not to proceed on the Works begun at your Settlement before the Arrival of Major Mosman, but on his Arrival, You are to pursue the Directions that We sent out with him.

217. MAJOR MOSMAN[1] IN CALCUTTA.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Thursday, March 30, 1749. Range I, Vol. XXII.

Read the Representation of Major James Mosman for a Barrack.

[1] Major Mosman arrived and took his seat at the Board on March 3. On April 30 he died of fever, and was succeeded by Captain Hamilton, who also died of fever on May 24. Barwell having been dismissed by the Court, Adam Dawson became Governor on July 17.

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AGREED that the Stables be allotted to the purpose therein specified.

EXTRACT FROM MAJOR MOSMAN'S REPRESENTATION.

It is humbly proposed that (till such time as the aforementioned Barracks can be Built or proper Places appointed for the reception of the Military) the Buildings now called the Company's Stables (for which the Honourable Company does not seem to have any present occasion) may at a small Expence be fitted up and converted into a Barrack for the use of the Military Companys at Calcutta.

218. MINOR WORKS.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Thursday, September 21, 1749. *Range I., Vol. XXII.*

ORDERED the Zemindar to survey the Drains and see what Repairs they want and report the same to the Board with an estimate of the expence thereof,

As there are several Beams in the Barracks and Cottah Godown that want shifting.

ORDERED the Buxey to change them.

219. PLAISTED REQUESTS PERMISSION TO RETURN TO EUROPE.

Letter from Bartholomew Plaisted to Adam Dawson, September 27, 1749. *Miscellaneous Letters received,* 1749-50, *Vol.* 35.

HONOURABLE SIR,—I think it my Duty to Acquaint your Honour that as soon as I have compleated the Drafts I am now about shall request permission to lay down to go home to Europe and as this Step takes Its rise from the Boards Decree of June 20th 1748 so I hope with all due Respect I shall be permitted to lay before your Honour or the Board the Reasons why I cannot Readily Acquisce (*sic*) in a Step of the Board so injurious to my Character (pardon the Expression I cannot find a softer) for as yet my Mean Sagacity cannot find one single Paragraph in that paper but what Ultimately tender'd to the Company's Interest and which was laid in consequence of the Duty I owe the Company for from my Accepting of the Post it had been part of my Office to take an Account of every thing expended under my Inspection and my Predecessor for 15 Years before me so that I came to the Post with this duty annex'd to it and therefore sign'd a daily Account but at last the Bannians was pleased to tell me I

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should inspect no longer Am I Sir to Obey such an Order from any Bannian or to Admit them to hinder me from doing my indispencible Duty, Mr. Kempe at the Council Board was pleas'd to say it was his Order but I believe he wont Attempt to Say he told me it was his Order and as I would not Admit Ramram my Superior to give me Orders therefore I laid a Complaint thereof and it is with Regret I am at Present obliged to Notice that no enquiry was made into it but your humble Servant was dismissed as having no right to the Office hence the Bannians had an Opportunity to celebrate the Victory with the Downfall of a Man who to complieate the thing is stigmatized with the Infamy of an Impostor for if the Board rightly dismissed me as having no right to the Post it must be an Imposition in me to come with such a Complaint and in that Character and your decree says there being no Surveyor Appointed by the Board therefore you Appoint Mr. Hampton if this be true tis really surprising how I could act three Years in a Post without being appointed to it but I am insensibly prolonging a Story that I shall reserve to another opportunity and Demonstration to accompany it to prove I was Surveyor and appointed to it by the Board and shall add one thing more that I never Askt for the Post being then Captain of the *Kent* for I was invited to Accept of it by Mr. Bradyll and Council—these few Intimations will I hope from the Idea I have of Your Honours Candour be calmly received as they are communicated with the greatest Respect by him who begs the honour to subscribe himself

Your Honours most humble and Obedient Servant,

B. PLAISTED.

September the 27th, 1749.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE STATE OF MY CASE.[1]

1. That in the year 1745 being Captain and Supercargo of a Ship was invited to accept of the Post of Surveyor in consequence of which was appointed by the Board as appears by the general letter 83^{d} Paragraph and my Duty consisted of three parts 1st to Survey all Materials &c. before they were bought, 2^{dly} To Survey and report the Condition of the Companys Buildings and to calculate the Expence before any was undertaken and 3^{dly} To keep an Account

[1] Miscellaneous Letters received, 1749-50, Vol. 35.

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of the Expending of the Materials with the number of Workmen daily Employed to Assist in it was Allowed ten Rupees p^r^ Mensem for Bannians and at the same time was requir'd to give in a daily Account under my hand.

2. That in Jan^ry^ 1746/7 I laid down the *Northesk* a Ship of 500 Tuns and was appointed also Engineer so that I held the two post[s] together that when Mr. Bellamy came to be buxy he gave such an unlimitted power to his Bannians that tho I opposed them as much as possible and complain'd to Mr. Bellamy of them they order'd what they Pleased; the latter to the best of my Judgement amounted to 15000 Rupees and all this without my Consent tho' I was requir'd to Sign the Daily Account consequently had an undoubted right to know how the things were Expended.

3. That in my Post of Engineer when I was at Council Board giving my opinion Mr. Bellamy taking advantage of his Seat gave me aprobious language because I opposed a very Expensive Scheem then on foot that finding I could not be brought to be the tool Captain Hamilton was made it, to draw up the proposal for Pallasading the Fort and Town and this without my Cognisance or advice tho' as I apprehend nothing of that kind ought to have been undertaken without consulting me; for to what purpose was I Engineer, but that nothing might be laid to my Charge and that I might not be backward in the duty I owed the Company as I could not look on with indeference at so much evidently to be thrown away I wrote the annex'd Letter to the Governor and another to the Board whereby it will appear how I looked on Pallisading the Place and that I did give such advice will appear by Consultation of April the 13th 1747 altho' my Letter was never Enter'd and this is not the only one I have reason to complain of where I have given my advice for the Benefit of the Company.

4. That notwithstanding all I could say the above Useless and Expensive scheem was undertaken and therefore to save my own Character I refused to have any hand in it and also refused to sign the Account and I must note the Pallisading and other things undertaken without my advice amounted to about 70,000 Rupees.

5. That the Workmen during Mr. Bellamy being Buxey received their Orders so imedeately from his Banians that it was impossible for me to do the Duty I owed the Company and these orders were frequently to do Jobs for private People and to instance one more Pertickelar a Drain was undertaken of Strong Brickwork for Mr. Rob^t^ Airs of 420 foot long which I believe cost the Company 2700 Rupees this I represented to Mr. Bellamy who said he thought it had been only to mend a bit of a Drain for the Company but on my repeating it again it was a private Drain for Mr. Airs he replyed, then we must set it down to some other Account.

6. That when Mr. Kempe came to be Buxey his Bannians throwing off the Mask plainly refused to let me do my Duty in having my Bannians by when the Materials were weighed or the People counted and pretended they had their Authority from their Master that knowing I was not under the Bannians I refused to Obey any such Orders of the Bannians therefore was fully resolved

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as I had my Proofs ready of their Rougery to complain against them to the Board which I did in the Annexed Letter.

7. That to my Supprise the Complaint was taken no notice of from May the 7th to June the 20th which I verily believe was in hopes I would have withdrawn it which I had no inclination for, as I could prove every Assertion in it accordingly I sent in a Messuage by Mr. McGwire that it might have a hearing and was imedeately called in and Scarcely was enter'd when I was brow beat with having reflected on Severall Members of the Board in my Letter and askt what I meant by it, this I deny'd, and Mr. Kempe to prove it Snatched up my Paper and pickt out this Paragraph—Which redowns to the Honour of the Buxy when they Act fair and above board—this tho it did not answer his purpose I thought a very unfair Proceeding and he finding it would not Succeed instead of calling up the Bannians to hear what I had to say he pretended I had no Right to the Post of Surveyor and the Tables was turn'd on myself thus I was treated as a person who was imposing on the Board in a false Character and all this as it appear'd to me to screen a Set of Fellows against whom I was come in a regular Manner to complain in behalf of the Company nor was they once ever called up to hear what I had to say against them or the Books refer'd to in my Complaint produced; to compleat the whole I was order'd to withdraw and on the foul Consultation the Decree as near as I can remember was thus

It no way Appearing that Mr. Barth° Plaisted was ever appointed to the Office of Surveyor Agreed that he be dismissed and Mr. Charles Hampton appointed in his room.

8. That thinking this decree to cast an Infamy on my Character I made heavy complaints to most of the Council and because I was not permitted to produce the Company's records when I appeal'd to them I shew'd to the major Part the Annexed Letter, in particular to Mr. Kempe but I could get no Satisfaction only what appears to me very Extraordinary the above decree was changed on fair Consultation into the following one

> 'There being no Surveyor appointed by the Board agreed that Mr. Charles Hampton Senior be Appointed to that Office.'

9. That the new wording the decree appears to me a further Injustice as it seems design'd to deprive me of proving by Your Records the Injustice I had sustain'd that very day preceeding Mr. Hampton being appointed.

10. That finding I could have no Satisfaction I resolved from that Instant to apply to the Company and to give Mr. Barwell an opportunity to do me Justice proving likewise the Injustice done me, I wrote him the Annex'd Letter and some faint Promises kept me one year Longer.

11. That after my Dismission Mr. Hampton then being Surveyor and enjoying the Profits of the Post, I was requir'd to take a Large Survey of Calcutta which I did after 7 Month and a half Labour without any reward nor did I require any but a hearing for the Injury I had sustain'd in this very Post.

12. That when Mr. Dawson came to the Chair I wrote him the Annexed Letter but he gave me no Answer to it which made me continue resolute not

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to put up with the Injury done my Character and Fortune, but because I would act with Honour and that it might not be said I complain'd without letting him know I would say nothing in England but what I was ready to say at the Councill Board of Calcutta I wrote him the Annexed Letter,

13. That Mr. Kempe has refused to give me 100 Rupees being my pay from May the 1st to June the 20th tho he has Charged the Company with having paid me for the month of May and the 20 Days of June he has Charged as paid Mr. Hampton, tho Mr. Hampton by your Consultation was not appointed before the 20th therefore had no right but to the last 10 Days.

14. That from my Dismission as above and taking my Pay from me I think I have had a Punishment inflicted on me as if I had been guilty of the most Attrocious Crime and this only for Standing up Strictly to my Duty.

All which Truths greatly corroborated by the Company's records I am ready to swear to, as also to the Annexed Letters which are produced as proofs that I have been denyed a hearing in Calcutta and as they are address'd to the Governor himself its to be presumed if they contain'd any things but reall Facts, he would have had a fairer Plea to have turn'd me out on than the false one as above.

220. Cost of Municipal Repairs.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Wednesday, November 15, 1749. *Range I., Vol. XXII.*

The Zemindar lays before the Board a Letter being his Report Survey of the Drains and Roads with a calculate of the expence repairs amounting to 2,525 rupees which we esteeming absolutely necessary to be done

Ordered that he do immediately set about them and that his Letter with a calculate be entered after this Consultation.

Computation of the Expence in mending the High Roads and repairing the Publick Streets and Drains.

	Rs.
The Road from the Dock-Head to the Stable and down to the Side of the Park[1] Charges Computed to the nearest calculation	100
The Street from the Side and back of Mr. Rooper's House and down to Messrs. Noke's and Lascelles's House[2] computed	100

[1] Hare Street and along Dalhousie Square to Vansittart Row. In the plan of Calcutta by Wells, in 1753, the Company's stables occupy the site of the present Standard Life Assurance Offices.

[2] From paragraph 40 of Holwell's letter of November 30, 1756, it appears that Mr. Lascell's house, in 1756, was at the corner of Mangoe Lane, with which we may identify the street here mentioned.

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	Rs.
The Road from Captain Lloyd's House to the New Buzar Chandpaul Buzar[1] &c[a] computed	225
The Road from New Buzar to Bartholla Buzar[2] Computed	300
The Road from the Fort Gate to Mansings Chowkey[3] being about 8,000 Feet Computed	500
The Road from Chourongeys Chowkey and Gasthulla Buzar[4] 6,000 Feet computed as that part to the Road is exceeding bad at	600
The Street from Mr. Margass's House down to the Powder House[5] about 5,000 Feet Computed	100
The Street from Purranna Gunge[6] to Govindpore Chowkey about 6,000 Feet Computed	250

[1] In 1742 Captain Lloyd's house was near the Sixth Battery (see p. 159, footnote [2]). It was, therefore, not far from the river and the creek south of the burying-ground. The Chāndpāl Bāzār was presumably near Chāndpāl Ghāṭ, at the end of what is now Esplanade Row West. Where the New Bāzār was I am not sure, but, having regard to the existence of the road next mentioned from the New Bāzār to Barṭolā Bāzār, I should think we must place it close by Lāl Bāzār (see the next footnote).

[2] In modern Calcutta, Barṭolā Street runs parallel to, and immediately north of, Cotton Street. Its continuation is Mīrbahr Ghāṭ Street, which leads to Mīrbahr Ghāṭ. I imagine that the road from the New Bāzār to Barṭolā Bāzār is the same as the modern Chitpore Road, and hence that the New Bāzār is close by the Lāl Bāzār. The list of bridges given in extract 193, however, may be thought to go against this supposition, but we cannot be sure that they are enumerated in any order.

[3] This is the road past Writers Buildings, down Lāl Bāzār and Bow Bāzā, which in Orme's plan is called the Avenue to the Eastward, and which I have elsewhere seen called the Great Bungalow Road. Eight thousand feet along this road brings us to S'ūjāḷḍaha and the Beliāghāṭa Road. Here, then, we must place Mānsiniha's *chaukī*.

[4] According to Upjohn's map of Calcutta in 1794, Chauraṇgi lay north of Park Street, the locality south being Ḍihī Birji. I should therefore place the Chauraṇgi *chauki* at the corner of Park Street, where the Asiatic Society of Bengal now is. Gasthulla may be meant for Qasāīṭolā, which is now Bentinck Street, and the road may be Bentinck Street with the northern portion of our modern Chowringhee Road, which is about 6,000 feet. But the same road may be indicated lower down as the road to Mr. Frankland's garden. If that be so, we must conjecture that the road here in question is the southern portion of our Chowringhee Road running from the Chauraṇgi *chauki* towards Kāli Ghāṭ. But in that case I do not know what to make of Gasthulla.

[5] In 1742 Mr. Margass's house was near the Seventh Battery and the rice *gotas* (see p. 159, footnote [3]). If this was also the situation of Mr. Margass's in 1749, and the Powder House was by the burying-ground, the present St. John's Churchyard, then the street from the one to the other could not have been 5,000 feet long; 2,000 feet would be nearer the mark, and would agree better with the small estimate for repairs.

[6] I do not know where *purāṇa ganj*, the old market, should be placed.

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	Rs.
The Street to the side of the Goal[1] down to Mr. Frankland's Garden Computed '...	200
The Street from Omichund's House to Mier Burr Chowkey[2]	150
Rupees ...	2525

221. BENJAMIN ROBINS[3] IS SENT OUT AS ENGINEER GENERAL.

Extracts from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, December 8, 1749. Paragraphs 1, 2, 9, and 12. Letter Book No. 27.

1. Being determined to have our Possessions and Estate put in as perfect Security for the future as We are able, by making such Additions to and Alterations in the Fortifications and Works at Our several Settlements in the East Indies and the Island of St. Helena, as may render them defencible against the Attacks of any European or Indian Enemys, We have in order thereto appointed Benjamin Robins Esq. in whose Integrity and Capacity We have an entire Confidence, Our Engineer General, as likewise Commander in Chief of the Artillery, And that you may be fully apprized of Our Intentions in employing him, We have here inserted his Instructions, and We direct that every Article in them so far as they relate to Fort William in Bengal be as fully complied with as if they were particularly Addressed to You, and We further recommend and direct, that in any Matters which

[1] Mr. Frankland's garden was at what is now Middleton Row (see extract 27.). The jail must be either the jail in Lāl Bāzār, or more probably the Hariṇbāṛī jail or *koṭwāl* prison (see extracts 212 and 257). If the jail here is the Lāl Bāzār jail, it would seem most natural to suppose that the road indicated is our present Bentinck Street and Chowringhee Road. Port Chowringhee Road, with Bentinck Street, was an important and frequented thoroughfare; hence we might expect the repairs done to it to cost more than Rs. 200, and it seems preferable to identify it with the road from the Chauraṇgi *chauki* mentioned above, which is about the true length—6,000 feet—and of which the repairs cost Rs. 600. This leaves us with the conclusion that the jail here is the Hariṇbāṛī jail, north of Tirretta Bāzār, and that a road ran from it along the line of the present Kolootola Street, Phear's Lane, Bowbazar Lane, Khyroo's Lane, and straight on into Nilmoney Haldar's Lane and Free School Street to Mr. Frankland's garden at Middleton Row. Such a road is sketched in Orme's plans of Calcutta in 1756-57, though I cannot trace it so clearly in Upjohn's map.

[2] Probably China Bāzār and on to Mīrbaḥr Ghāṭ—i.e., harbour-master stairs. The plan of Calcutta by Wells, in 1753, shows Amichand's house in what is now Lyon's Range.

[3] Benjamin Robins, mathematician and military engineer, the only son of John Robin, a Quaker in poor circumstances, was born at Bath in 1707. His life is fully given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

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may have been omitted in these Instructions, You give him all possible Assistance and Furtherance, and We particularly direct that if any doubts shall arise about the meaning or Import of any of the Articles contained in these his Instructions, he himself as best acquainted with our Intentions, shall be appealed to for the sense of them.[1]

2. In all these places [of which Fort William is one] you are carefully to examine the Fortifications and to take an exact Plan of the present Works after which you are to form a Scheme of such Additions or Reparations as shall on the Consideration of all Circumstances appear to you to be most expedient, Two Copys of this Plan and Scheme You are to send to Us by the two first Conveyances, together with the nearest Estimate you can form of the Expence, You are besides to transmit to Us at the same time such Discriptions and Explanations as may the better enable Us to judge both of the Present Condition of the Place and of the Advantages of the Alterations proposed, and are to Remark every Circumstance that may occur to you for facilitating the Execution of your Plan, And for the better directing of your Judgment in all these Matters, you are to have free Access to all Books or Papers in the Custody of Our Governour and Council, where any Deliberations, Resolutions, Projects, Estimates or Accounts relating to our Fortifications are entered.[2]

9. As we are resolved to throw up some Works about the Town of Calcutta for the better Defence of its Inhabitants agreeable to our Letter of the 17th June 1748, You are therefore on your arrival at Fort William to consider of a Plan for that purpose, in forming this Plan, you are to endeavour that it may be of such a Nature, that without any material Change in the general Disposition, and without Demolishing the Works that will first be raised, the whole may afterwards be Wrought into a more compleat Fortress, when after maturely Weighing all the Circumstances necessary to be con-

[1] The extracts which follow relating to Fort William are taken from the Court's instructions 'to Benjamin Robins, Esq.'

[2] Then follow paragraphs about inspection of artillery, ammunition, and military stores; power to dismiss officers, and directions to proceed to any place attacked; expensive works to be avoided, except where delay is injurious; inspectors of works to be appointed, and accounts to be examined.

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sidered, You have form'd your Plan for the Works about Calcutta, and have made an Estimate of the time, Expence, Materials, and Workmen necessary to compleat it, and have determin'd with what part to begin, and in what Order to proceed, you are then to lay the whole before our Governour and Council, and to require them to prepare the Money, Materials and Workmen, and to Issue the proper Orders for carrying on the Work, which Requisition of yours they will be directed to comply with.[1]

12. That the Works begun or projected by you may not be interrupted by any casualty that may happen to You, We direct you to draw your Designs upon a large Scale, and to be very explicit in your Discription of their different Parts, And if from the particularity of the Construction there are any Works intended where it may be Supposed that Drawings are not alone sufficiently Instructive, You are in that case to cause large and durable Models to be made of them, which Models together with Copys of your Plan, and all the Descriptions, Directions and Estimates relating thereto, You are to deposit with our Governour and Council of the Place where the Works are to be carried on.[2]

LONDON,
8th December, 1749.

222. RESOLUTIONS ON THE NABOB'S COMING ON THIS SIDE OF THE RIVER.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, January 11, 1750. *Range I., Vol. XXIII.*

As by the Advices received from Cossimbuzar We find the Nabob is on this side the Kisnagur River and within Eight coss [*kos*][3] of Hughley That his Intentions are quite secret and apprehending he may come nearer to this Town and his Forces plunder about it.

[1] The paragraphs which follow refer to the assistants sent with Mr. Robins, their duties, and pay.

[2] The remaining paragraphs direct Mr. Robins to correspond frequently with the Court of Directors. Mathematical instruments are provided for him. He is to take rank as third in Council, and is to remain in India until between January and March, 1754.

[3] A *kos* is about two miles.

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AGREED therefore to put ourselves in the best Posture of Defence We can in case of any Attack and for this purpose as our Garrison is weak to recall the Military from Deanstown and

ORDERED. the Buxey to repair such of the Pallisades as are in want thereof.

AGREED that the President do find out proper Persons to watch the Nabob's Motions and bring him timely Intelligence how far he proceeds. . . .

223. THE COURT CONSIDER THAT THE INHABITANTS SHOULD PAY PART OF THE EXPENCE OF THE FORTIFICATIONS.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, January 12, 1750. *Paragraphs* 43, 44. *Letter Book No.* 27.

We have appointed Benjamin Robins Esq. Engineer General of all our Settlements in India, a Gentleman eminently Skilled in his Profession, who with his several Assistants proceed[ed] to Fort St. David in the *Grantham*, We have communicated to you our Intentions and Directions in a Separate Letter Dated the 8th December 1749 with regard to the Fortifications and Works at Calcutta to which We particularly refer You.

As the Works intended to be thrown up about Calcutta will be as much to the Advantage and Defence of the Inhabitants as the Company, We particularly recommend it to You to consider of and point out some Method, whereby part of the Expence may be borne by them, either by a Voluntary Contribution or easy Dutys.

224. ACCOUNT OF MINOR WORKS AND REPAIRS IN 1749.

Extract from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William. January 13, 1750. *Paragraphs* 119, 120, *and* 123. *Bengal Letters received. Vol. Ia.*

119. As there were several Beams in the Barracks and Cottah Godowns which were rotten and in bad condition We on the 22nd[1] September ordered the Buxey to shift them.

120. The same day we ordered the *Zemindar* to survey the Drains about the Town and see what repairs they wanted and lay his Report with a Calculate of the Expence before us He complyed

[1] The date should be September 21 (see extract 218).

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therewith the 15 November as by said Report entered after our Consultation of that day When we ordered him to put the same in execution as this was the most effectual method We could think of more making the Settlement sweet and wholesome.

123. Had Captain Delavaux the Engineer arrived here We should agreable to your directions have received his Plans and transmitted them to your Honours however by the President's Order a Plan of Calcutta[1] has been taken by Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted who has since returned to Europe Via Bussorah[2] Which Plan is committed to Captain Webber's care to be delivered to your Honours.

225. LAWRENCE WITHERINGTON[3] ON THE DEFENCE OF CALCUTTA.

Extract from a Letter from Lawrence Witherington to the Court of Directors. Calcutta, February 8, 1750. *Miscellaneous Letters received, Vol.* 35.

This Place to appearance had no Water-course till upon Strict enquiry we found one and Open'd it, which empties it self into the River very commodiously. About this Time[4] I was Order'd to Withdraw a Battery Erected to the South West for the Defence of the River, it will be Sufficient to Say for its Reputation, No one owned the Edificing of it, but by Way of Derision

[1] Compare paragraph 11 of *An Abstract of the State of my Case* by Plaisted himself (extract 219). The plan in question may have been the outline sketch of Calcutta within the palisades in the King's Library at the British Museum (K. 115, 41), but this seems too incomplete. On the other hand, we can hardly identify it with the plan of Calcutta Town in 1756 in the Orme Collections (O.V. 2, 16), unless we suppose this latter to be post-dated.

[2] Plaisted afterwards published his *Journal from Calcutta to Bussorah and thence through France to England in the Year* 1750 (London, 1757). From this it appears that he left Calcutta on November 28, 1749, embarked on the *Essex* on November 30, and sailed the same day. Leaving Gombroon on March 12, 1750, he reached Bussorah on April 20, Aleppo on June 23, Marseilles on October 9, Paris on November 16, and London on November 24, 1750.

[3] Witherington, who came out to Bengal as 'Captain-Lieutenant of the Train,' arrived twenty days before Major Mosman, and acted under him till his death. Witherington himself perished in the Black Hole. The first part of the letter refers to the organization of three irregular companies under Major Mosman's orders, and the inspection of ordnance, etc., which was all badly kept, and for the most part unfit for use.

[4] The end of March, 1749.

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was called Green Goose Battery however when I began to draw off the Cannon, The Carridges were so Sick they could not bear it so I was Obliged to bring them in on Truck Carridges, which leads me to acquaint Your Honours, that few in the Garrison was much better, And many of the Gunns of the Garrison Rusted and Honycomb'd, for want of proper care, Major Mosmon having Order'd to be erected a Pont house couverd with Tyles stretching against part of the Curtin upon the Gun Wharfe Battery, affords a convenient Store Shed for our Carridges &c[a] And as Our Implements are now in order I have compleated Some Field Pieces, Two of which are now against the Morattoes Very tractable for the Service, and I have erected a Butt for the practical part of Gunnery, and a Range for the Mortar. . . .[1]

226. Drains to be opened.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, July 23, 1750. *Range I., Vol. XXIII.*

The Zemindar acquainting the Board that several of the Drains about the Town are stopped up and encroachments made in the high Roads by building Hutts and shops over those Drains

Ordered him to redress those Grievances.

227. Account of Works in the First Half of 1750.

Extract from Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, August 23, 1750. *Paragraphs* 70 *and* 120. *Bengal Letters received, Vol. II.*

70. The Zemindar on the 23 July Acquainting Us that several of the Drains about the Town was stopped up and Encroachments made in the High road by building Hutts and Shops over those Drains We ordered them to redress those Grievances.

120. Mr. Benjamin Robins whom your Honours have been pleased to Appoint Engineer General of all your Settlements in India is not yet Arrived when he does We shall duely regard your Honours Directions in the separate Letter of the 8th December 1749 as likewise to Consider of and point out some method for Reimbursing your Honours part of the Expence of the Works intended to be thrown up.

[1] The remainder of the letter refers to gunnery and other matters.

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228. Past Proceedings approved. Further Proceedings to await the Arrival of Mr. Robins.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, January 23, 1751. *Paragraphs* 40-42, 45, 47, *and* 48. *Letter Book No.* 28.

40. We approve of your Precautions upon the approach of the Nabob's army, as you cannot upon such Occasions be too much upon your Guard.

41. Your proceedings likewise with regard to Defending and Protecting your Selves and our Effects from the Incursions of the Morattas meet with our Approbation, but in all these Cases, the Officers You employ must be Men of Conduct as well as Resolution, the Reason of making such a Remark in this Place arises from the Intimations We have had that the Death of Captain Usgate and the Defeat of the Party under his Command at Dean's Town was entirely owing to his Rashness.

42. You did extremely right in paying for making a Wharf to the Road leading to Soota Loota Buzar out of our Cash, and Debting the Merchants Accounts for the amount upon their Refusal to Discharge the same and as we see no reason why the Expence of Publick Works should not be defrayed at the Expence of the Inhabitants, We do empower You for the future in Cases of the like Nature, to raise Money by way of Duty, Contribution or otherwise as you shall think will best answer the purpose.

45. We consent to the Building the Church Steeple at our Expence, but you must be very careful not to exceed the Sum You mention.

47. We cannot touch upon any part of your Advices with regard to the Fortifications, Military Stores, Artillery Company, or any thing else relative thereto, until We have the Thoughts of our Engineer General Mr. Robins upon them, and then You may depend upon full Directions for carrying into Execution all necessary Measures for the better Defence of the Place.

48. We observe upon the Representation of the late Major Mosman as entered after your Consultation of the 30th March 1749 that you had for the present Allotted the Stables to be converted into Barracks for the Non Commission Officers and Soldiers, You are to lay the said Representation before our Engineer

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General Mr. Robins, that We may have his Thoughts upon the same, and if he is of Opinion Barracks are necessary, that he may Project Buildings proper for the purpose, and make an Estimate of the Extraordinary Expences which will attend the carrying Major Mosman's Scheme into Execution.

229. PURCHASE OF TIMBER.

Extract from Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, February 4, 1751. *Paragraph* 101. *Bengal Letters received, Vol. II.*

101. As your Honours Barracks and Cottah were in want of New Beams and being Offered some Teak Timbers We Ordered the Carpenter to survey them and report their Condition with the Valuation thereof to Us which he complied with on the 29th of October when We Agreed to purchase them at the Prices Specified in his Report Entered after that Days Consultation.

230. MR. ROBINS IN CALCUTTA.

Extracts fom Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, March 11, *March* 21, *March* 22, *August* 1, *and August* 8, 1751. *Range I., Vol. XXIV.*

House hired for Mr. Robins.

March 11.—Benjamin Robins Esq[r] being arrived from the Coast[1] and being offered a House at 150 Madrass Rupees per Month,

AGREED that we hire the same for him. . . .

Mr. Robins's Letter for providing Stores.

March 21.—Benjamin Robins Esq[r] sent in a Letter to the Board concerning the provision of Materials necessary for beginning the Works wherewith he is entrusted.

AGREED that we meet to-morrow morning to take the same under Consideration. . . .

[1] Mr. Benjamin Robins, with John Barker, Carrington, O'Hara, Morrice, Knapton, and Glass, arrived at Fort St. David on the *Grantham* on July 14, 1750 (see the Fort St. David Consultations Book for that date; also a Letter to the Court, October 24, 1750, paragraph 56, Fort St. David Records, Nos. 7 and 10). He left Fort St. David by the *Swallow* on February 10, 1751.

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TO THE HONOURABLE ADAM DAWSON, ESQ., PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOUR, &c[a], COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

As it will be necessary to have a considerable Stock of Materials prepared before the Works with which I am entrusted can be begun I have made the best Enquiries I could what are the cheapest and easiest Methods by which they can be furnished. And upon the whole I am disposed to think that the black Jemindar, if by your authority and continual Inspection he can be prevailed on to act a disinterested part, may upon this occasion be of very great Service, by the Correspondence he has in every part of the Country. However I have been here so short a Time that it is possible many material circumstances may have escaped me. I therefore beg leave to annex hereto the prices at which Materials particularly Chunam can (as I am told) be procured. The reasonableness of which you from your better Knowledge of the place can easily determine. Perhaps by your Authority still cheaper Rates may be settled. I therefore beg your advice and Assistance in making the best terms for the Honourable Company.

I am, Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
BENJAMIN ROBINS.

CALCUTTA,
The 21st March, 1750-51.

PRICES AT WHICH MATERIALS CAN BE PROVIDED AT CALCUTTA.

Oyster Shell Chunan at 27 to 28 Arcot Rupees the 100 Maund Buzar Weight.
Snail Shell do. at 32 to 35 do. do.

The whole Quantily of Chunam procurable by the last of April 1752 but the Delivery to begin December the 1st 1751 is Supposed to be at a Certainty no more than 60,000 Maunds. Of this the Snail Shell should be as great a proportion as possible.

Bricks of the Larger Size made agreeable to a Mold in my possession and weighing [*sic*] when well burnt above 2 Seer Buzar weight For less than 3 Rupees the 1,000.

Salt wood Timbers from Moren of 11 Cubits long and from 10 to 12 Inches Square for 8½ Rs. per piece, 1,000 thousand pieces or more will be wanted if of greater Lengths the better and likewise the streighter the better. Sundry wood of the same length and from 8 to 10 Inches diamer from 2½ to 3 Rupees per piece 5 or 6,000 Sundry Timbers will be wanted but they may be of different Lengths from 10 feet upwards. Plank of any kind very cheap it will be advantagious to purchase.

Contract for Chunam settled.

March 22.—Having met to take Mr. Robins Letter entered after yesterdays Consultation under Consideration and Mr. Robins

being present We sent for Govinderam Metre[1] the Black Zemindar before us and asked him to contract for the Sundries wanted by Mr. Robins and at the prices set down by him. But he assured us he could not possibly enter into Engagement for the Bricks and Timbers But would contract for the Chunam at the following prices Viz[t].

Maunds of Oyster Shell at 27 Arcot Rupees per 100 Maund
Do. of Snail Shell at 33 do.

and on the following Conditions.

To be advanced five thousand Arcot Rupees in hand and the Ballance in the Month of June.

To give publick Orders forbidding all persons under the Honourable Company's Protection to purchase Chunam excepting of the Gov[r] and Council. To deliver in the Chunam by a Measure the Expence whereof to be defrayed by the Company.

AGREED that we accept of this Proposal and

ORDERED a Contract be drawn up agreeable thereto for Metre to sign and

AGREED that Cooley hire be settled from hence forward at 2 pun Cowries per Diem. . . .

Old Trees and Underwood to be cut down.

August 1.—ORDERED the Zemindar to cut down all the old Trees and underwood in and about the Town and reserve them till Mr. Robins's arrival as it will be a great saving to our Honourable Masters in the Article of Firewood for burning their Bricks. . . .

Timber bought for Mr. Robins.

Being offered . . . Sundry Timbers and Plank and finding by Mr. Robins's Indent they will answer his purposes.

ORDERED the Companys Carpenter to survey and Value them and deliver in his Report in writing to the Board. . . .

August 8.—The Companys Carpenter sent in his Report of the

[1] Govindarāma Mitra, the celebrated Assistant Collector of Calcutta, who built the great pagoda in the Chitpur Road, and whose malpractices were exposed by Holwell.

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Timbers mentioned in our Consultation of the 1st Instant with the prices they are worth annexed thereto.

AGREED that We purchase them at those prices and that the Military Storekeeper do take Charge of them for the present.

231. DEATH OF MR. ROBINS AT FORT ST. DAVID.

Extracts from Fort St. David Consultations, July 29, 1751. *Fort St. David Records, No.* 7.

Mr. Brohier[1] waits upon the Board to acquaint them with the Melancholly News of Mr. Robins's having just Expired and delivers in two Letters wrote by him on his Death Bed. One to the Honourable Company the other to the Board with a Codicil to his Will,[2] after which He withdrew when the same were read, and the former with a Copy of his Letter to Us Ordered to be transmitted Our Honourable Masters by the *Swallow* and all three to be Entered hereafter.

ORDERED Also that His Burial be suitable to the Station He has borne and that it be done at the Honourable Company's Expence.

As Mr. Brohier is the only Person acquainted with Mr. Robins's Intentions Regarding the Fortifications

Its AGREED that they be put entirely under his Management till we hear from Our Honourable Masters.[3]

[1] On December 8, 1749, the Court gave leave to John Brohier to take passage to India to be employed in the seafaring way (see Court Minutes of that date). Somewhere about October, 1750, Brohier was appointed to a Lieutenancy in the Artillery Train (see Fort St. David Records, No. 10, Letter to the Court, October 24, 1750, paragraph 59).

[2] The codicil to the will of Benjamin Robins, late of London, dated July 25, 1751, is entered in the Consultation of July 29. He desires his burial to be the plainest, simplest, and least expensive possible. His effects are to be given into the custody of his faithful servant George Reynolds. His executors are Thomas Lewis and John Heaton, gentlemen, of London. He leaves George Reynolds £50, Dr. Turing 200 pagodas; to John Brohier his choice of 'my swords, and two-thirds of all my works of fortifications, and one-third to John Call; to all the gentlemen under me, including Mr. Brohier, ten pagodas for a ring.' He mentions 'my case of instruments made by Bird.' Robins died of fever, as appears from his letter to the Board.

[3] In a letter from Fort St. David to the Court, August 15, 1751, paragraph 14, the death of Robins and appointment of Brohier is thus announced: 'After our hopes

BENJAMIN ROBINS TO THE COURT.

Fort St. David, July 25, 1751.—I am now upon my Death Bed but cannot help giving You these few Lines in relation to Your Affairs.

I have been labouring at the Account to be sent You of Bengall in Consequence of the Observations I made there Many Accidents and lastly my Sickness prevented me from putting of it together, so that it is of no Use being only Intelligible to myself.

The Works here will be finished under Mr. Brohier who has full Instructions from me He knows my General Idea in regard to Madrass Though not so particularly as I could wish, Never having been there together, Though We had often been upon the Point of going. He is certainly the properest person for that Work I know and I recommend him as Such. He has hitherto behav'd I believe with great Integrity But if you Employ him at Madras His Trust will be Considerably great, pray therefore do not Stinct his Allowances too much.

I must add that I myself have been greatly a Sufferer by my Table Money (which with all my care) I constantly found greatly Short of the Expence.

Pray Gentlemen if possible let Calcutta be well Secured, for it is a place of infinite Consequence.

I sincerely wish You the Utmost Success in Your Public Affairs, and to each of you in Particular health and Happiness.

I must Averr to You, that I have served you with the most Disinterested Zeal.

232. ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF MR. ROBINS IN CALCUTTA.

Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, August 20, 1751. *Paragraphs* 102, 103, 107, *and* 108. *Bengal Letters received, Vol. II.*

102. Under this Head [Fortifications Buildings and Revenues] we are to advise your Honours of Mr. Robbins's Arrival here on

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of his Recovery We are sorry to acquaint you with the Death of Mr. Robins the 29th Ultimo. His Judgment, Assiduity, and Disinterestedness in the Management of Affairs under his Direction renders the Loss of him inexpressible, as his agreeable Conduct in private Life makes him generally lamented; when he found himself in a dangerous Way he wrote your Honours the Address that comes in the Packet, and one to Us, Copy of which you will also receive, and We shall strictly adhere to. Mr. Brohier had always the Management of the Works when Mr. Robins was present, and when at Bengal, the entire Direction of them: in which he allways acquitted himself well; as he is particularly recommended by Mr. Robins to have a thorough knowledge of what is to be done here and a general Idea of his Intentions at Madrass, We have put the Works entirely under his Management. By this Ship he writes you very fully in regard thereto, and we beg leave particularly to recommend him to your Favour, as a Capable honest Servant, he is at present a Lieutenant in the Artillery and 'tis his Choice to be prefer'd in this Way' (Fort St. David Records, No. 11).

the 11th March in the *Swallow*[1] Snow and on the 21st following he delivered us a Letter concerning the Materials he should want for beginning the Works your Honours entrusted to his Management which you will find entered after that days Consultation.

103. The next Day We took Mr. Robbins's Letter under our Consideration and he being Present We sent for Govindram Metre the Black Zemindar and asked him to contract for the sundries wanted and at the Prices affixed thereto when he assured us he could not possibly enter into engagements for the Bricks and Timbers but would contract for the whole Quantity of Chunam . . . which proposal we accepted of and the Contract agreeable thereto being signed by him We advanced him on the 5th April 5,000 Arcot Rupees and the Ballance 13,600 Arcot Rupees on the 27th Day of June.

107. We have directed the Jemindar to cut down all the old Trees and Underwood in and about the Town and reserve them till Mr. Robins's Arrival as We Judged this would be a great Saving to your Honours in the Article of Firewood for burning Bricks.

108. We have purchased some Timbers and Plank which we found answer'd to Mr. Robins's Indent at the Prices set down in your Honours Carpenters Report of them entered after our Consultation of the 8th instant.

233. A Committee of Works to be formed.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, August 21, 1751. *Paragrah* 41. *Letter Book No.* 28.

As our Expences in Materials and Workmanship must even with the greatest Economy and Care rise very high, it is absolutely necessary that some Methods should be fixed upon to regulate and keep them within reasonable Bounds, and therefore We direct that upon the Receipt of this you do appoint a

[1] The *Swallow* left Fort St. David on February 10, 1751, and arrived in the river on March 8 (see Log of the *Swallow*, Marine Records, 385 A and B; see also Letter from Fort St. David to the Court, February 7, 1751, paragraph 72, Fort St. David Records, No. 11).

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Committee, who with the Advice and Assistance of Mr. Robins are to examine into the present Methods of Paying for Materials and Workmanship in their various Articles, and to consider of the most effectual Measures for the laying in of Materials of all kinds at the cheapest Rates, and in what manner the Artificers and Workmen may be employ'd most to the Company's Advantage, and Report the same to the Board; When you have duly considered the same, you must make the necessary Regulations accordingly, It must be an Instruction to the said Committee to attend particularly to the Business of the Buxey's post which at present is carried on greatly to the Company's Prejudice, by his furnishing Bricks, Chunam, Timber, Plank and many other Articles which for the future must be always purchased at the best Hand and furnished out of our own Stores.

Whatever regards Mr. Robins in these or any of our Advices must be constantly communicated to him, and if he is not on the Spot, they are to be forwarded to him by the very first Conveyances.

234. Timber to be returned.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, December 9, 1751.

As we apprehend the Sundry Timbers and Planks purchased in compliance with Mr. Robins's Indent will rot before any use can be made of them, and As the persons of whom they were bought have applyed for payment or to take them back.

Agreed that they be returned.

235. The Council of Calcutta report the Death of Mr. Robins and the return of the Timber.

Extract from Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, January 2, 1752. Paragraph 66. Bengal Letters received, Vol. II.

In the 108th Paragraph of our Address of the 20th August we acquainted your Honours that we had agreed to purchase some Timbers and Plank which were indented for by Mr. Robbins But

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apprehending as that Gentleman was dead[1] they would rot before any Use could be made thereof and the Persons with whom We bargained for them applying to us for Payment or to return them We agreed to deliver them back.

236. SUITABLE PROVISION TO BE MADE FOR BARTHOLOMEW PLAISTED.

Letter from the Court to Benjamin Robins, Esq. London, January 8, 1752. Letter Book No. 28.

TO BENJAMIN ROBINS, ESQ.

1. SIR,—Our last went by the *Durrington* under date of the 21st August last and a copy of it by the *Drake*, The occasion of the present Letter is to acquaint You that Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted who takes his passage for Bengal on one of the Ships now under dispatch was injuriously turned out of his Post of Surveyor of the Works at Fort William, for no other Reason that appears to Us, but his Honest Endeavours to see Justice done to the Company by the Persons who then filled the Post of Buxey, at the same time that he was Surveyor, he was also Engineer, which latter Post he threw up, imagining he could be of little Service to the Company under the Discouragements he met with, We think Mr. Plaisted an Honest capable Man, and it will be a Pleasure to Us to have him employed under You, if it can be done consistantly with the End of your Office, your Measures and designs, and You find him fitly Qualified and in your own Judgment approve of him, and therefore under these restrictions We recommend him to you, being determined in no respects to abridge the general Lattitude We have given you, for executing the important Trust You are charged with, If Mr. Plaisted be not employed under you, we have directed our President and Council to make a considerable provision for him in any other Station in our Service that may be worth his acceptance, excepting as a Covenant Servant.

[1] Benjamin Robins died at Fort St. David, Cuddalore, July 29, 1751, and was buried on July 30 (see extract 231 and the burial register). There is a notice of his death in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1752 (p. 92), where he is described as 'an eminent engineer, who went to India in the service of the East India Company.'

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2. Mr. Plaisted has given us his thoughts in Writing upon the manner of transacting the Business by the Buxeys, in the Course of which you will observe many Abuses have been committed greatly to the Companys prejudice as a great Branch of the Buxeys Business will on course take a different channel under your Direction, we have for that Reason and as it may convey some useful Hints enclosed a Copy for your Information.

237. Instructions from the Court touching Civil and Military Buildings in 1752.

Extracts from Generàl Letters from the Court to Bengal. London, January 8, *Paragraphs* 74 *and* 95, *and January* 16, *Paragraphs* 2 *and* 9, 1752. *Letter Book No.* 28).

74. *January* 8.—We are satisfied that by our Soldierys being kept together in Barracks good order and Discipline will be better preserved and maintained as they will be more constantly under the eyes of their Officers and not only so, but they will live in a comfortable manner, you are therefore hereby directed and empowered to Build Convenient Barracks if there are none at present at such Place or Places as will be most proper for the purpose, in doing which, you are to take the Advice and Opinion of Mr. Robins if he is upon the Spot.

95. Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted late Engineer and Surveyor at Calcutta having applied to Us for Redress for the injurious Treatment he met with from the then Governor[1] and Council, we have made a strict enquiry into his Case and find that he was turned out of his Post of Surveyor for his Honest endeavours to prevent the Abuses in the Execution of the Buxey Ship by Messrs. Bellamy and Kempe, and for no other Reasons that appear to Us, We should have been glad to have provided for him in the Engineering way, but we can fix upon no Appointment of that Sort without interfering with Mr. Robins whose Measures and Designs we are determined upon no consideration to break in upon, however we have recommended him to Mr. Robins to be employed under him, in such a manner as he shall think proper, if he finds him fitly Qualified, and provided as we said before, it will no way interfere with his Measures and Designs, But if he be

[1] William Barwell.

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not so employed, you are hereby positively directed to make a suitable Provision for him in any other Station in our Service, that may be worth his acceptance except as a Covenant Servant, and you are to look upon him as a Person We have a Value for who merits our Favour.[1]

2. *January* 16.—You are strictly to inspect into the heavy Charge Account Building and Repairing Bridges, Drains, Golas, Out Roads and Choukey Houses, so far as properly regards the Office of Jemindar, and to take care that the Company are charged no more than is actually expended on these several Articles.

9. We are told that the great Number of Trees at the South and South East part of the Town contribute greatly to the Unhealthyness of the inhabitants in the rainy Seasons, by intercepting and stagnating the Air, which may by thining or cutting them entirely down, be in a great measure if not altogether remedied, You are therefore hereby Empowered and Directed immediately to set about the thining or clearing away the said Trees, clean the Drains in and about the Town and do whatever else may be necessary for preserving the Healths of the numerous Inhabitants, altho' at some Expence to Us, but as this is an Affair of general and Publick Utility, some part of the Charges ought to be born by the Inhabitants, the Richer Sort at least, and therefore We leave it to you to make a reasonable Assessment upon them for those purposes, and pay the Remainder out of our Cash.

238. The Saltpetre Godowns and the Marine Yard.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, February 13, *February* 15, *February* 17, *and March* 16, 1752. *Range I., Vol. XXV.*

February 13.—The Zemindar acquaints the Board that the Wharf belonging to the Cotmahs is in so bad a condition that the Houses on that side of the River will be greatly endangered unles it is repaired before the Rains set in and the Cotmahs refusing to repair it

Ordered the Zemindar to do it and the Accomptant to debit their Accounts for the amount of the Expence. . . .

[1] The Court dismissed Dawson from the Company's service, and appointed Edward Eyles to succeed him as Governor, with William Fytche as second.

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February 15.—The Export Warehouse Keeper acquainting the Board that the Saltpetre Godowns[1] are in a very bad way and desiring a survey thereof

ORDERED him to remove the saltpetre and that Mr. Charles Hampton Surveyor do deliver in his Report thereof in Writing to the Board. . . .

February 17.—Mr. Charles Hampton Surveyor Delivers in his Report of the Honourable Companys Saltpetre Godowns

ORDERED the Buxey to repair them and the Report to be entered after this Consultation. . . .

TO THE HONOURABLE ADAM DAWSON, ESQR., PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOR, &CT^a, COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

Agreable to your Honours &ct^a Orders I have surveyed the Saltpetre Godowns and find the Walls of the great Godown to the Southered exceeding bad and the greatest part of the Godowns the Plaistering off the Walls There is also a small Godown w[h]ere the Gunneys were kept the Beams and Burgers all Rotten and wants to be new covered.

I am with due Respect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
CHARLES HAMPTON, Surveyor.

CALCUTTA,
February 17th, 1752.

March 16.—Mr. Charles Hampton Surveyor sent in his report of the Marine Yard, and Offices, which referring us to his Report thereof delivered into the Board the 22d October 1750; we now turned back thereto, and took the same under Consideration.

And as the Expence that will attend the filling up of the Dock-head, will be very great, and all Communication to the River will be thereby cut off, except by the Cradle; and the great Use of a Slip being represented to us, which will be also a saving in the Article of Cooley Hire

ORDERED therefore that the Buxey do build a Slip, and repair the Smith's Shop and Offices and that the Surveyors Letter be entered after this Consultation. . . .

[1] Compare extract 147.

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TO THE HONOURABLE ADAM DAWSON, ESQR., PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOUR OF FORT WILLIAM, &C^a, COUNCIL.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

Agreeable to your Honour &c^a's Orders, I have surveyed the Marine Yard and Dockhead, and find them in a worse Condition, than when I gave in my Report to your [Honour] &c^a the 22d October 1750, which beg to be referred to. The Smith's shop is so very bad, that if not timely prevented by pulling it down the Workmen are in Danger of their lives.

I remain with great respect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
CHARLES HAMPTON.

FORT WILLIAM,
March the 10*th*, 1752.

239. A COMMITTEE OF WORKS NOT NECESSARY AT PRESENT. PLAISTED REAPPOINTED IN HIS FORMER POSTS.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, April 28, *September* 18, *and September* 25, 1752. *Range I., Vol. XXV.*

General Letter per 'Durrington' discussed.

April 28.—Our Honourable Masters having appointed a Committee for examining into the present Methods of paying for Materials and Workmanship in their various articles, We directed the Buxey to acquaint the Board when any such Works are to be carried on, and materials purchased, that such Committee be appointed, for which, as Mr. Robins is dead, and no new Works going forward, there is no occasion at present.[1]

Mr. Plaisted offered his Former Posts.

September 18.—Mr. Plaistead was now sent for and offered his former Posts of Engineer and Surveyor.

Mr. Plaisted accepts his Post.

September 25.—Mr. Plaistead acquaints the Board that he will accept of his former posts offered him last Council and enter upon them this day.

[1] Dawson having been dismissed by the Court, and Eyles gone home, William Fytche assumed charge of the government of Calcutta on July 5. He died of dysentery on August 8, and the government thereby devolved upon Roger Drake.

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240. The Council report the Condition of the Marine Yard to the Court.

Extract from Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, September 18, 1752. *Paragraphs* 83 *and* 88. *Bengal Letters received, Vol. II.*

83. The Master Attendant sent in his Report of the Condition of the Offices and Godowns in the Dockhead and representing to us the necessity of building a Slip We had them surveyed But as We found the Expence attending the filling up the Dockhead would be very great and all communication with the River would thereby be cut off except by the Cradle, and judging the Slip would be a very great Saving to Your Honours in the Article of Cooley hire We ordered One to be built and the Smith Shop and Offices to be repaired.

88. Enclosed We send your Honours a Copy of Mr. Drake's remarks on Mr. Plaisteads Letter to Mr. Secretary James as also Mr. Plaisteads Reply which although We think is far from being wrote with that decency that is incumbent on him yet being of opinion he has fully cleared himself of having thrown General Censures on any Buxes (Messrs. Bellamy and Kempe excepted) We sent for Mr. Plaistead and Offered him his former Posts of Engineer and Surveyor.

241. Perrins Garden[1] sold at Outcry.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, November 20, *and December* 11, 1752.

Perrins Garden being much out of Repair and of no Use to any of the Covenanted Servants

Agreed to sell it at Publick Outcry on Monday the 11th December next. . . .

Perrins Garden being put up at Publick Outcry sold for Current Rupees 2500 . . . to Mr. Holwell.

[1] See footnote, extract 129.

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242. CAROLINE FREDERICK SCOTT APPOINTED ENGINEER-GENERAL IN PLACE OF MR. ROBINS DECEASED.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, December 15, 1752. *Paragraphs* 35-38, 45, *and* 46. *Letter Book No.* 28.

35. We have constituted and appointed Caroline Frederick Scott Esq. Lieutenant Colonel of His Majesty's 29th Regiment of Foot and Aid de Camp to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland,[1] a Gentleman of distinguished Abilitys and Character to be our Engineer General of and in our several Forts, Garrisons, Factorys and Settlements of Fort St. George, Fort William and Bombay in the East Indies their Subordinates and Dependancys, and also of our Island St. Helena, and that You may be apprized of our Intentions in employing and the Services expected from Colonel Scott, We have here inserted his Instructions, And We direct that every Article in the said Instructions or in any others We have or shall hereafter think proper to give so far as they relate to your Presidency be as fully observed and complied with as if they were particularly directed to you, and We further direct that You give him all necessary Advice, Assistance and dispatch to enable him to execute and discharge the Trust We have reposed in him to our greatest Benefit and Advantage.

36. We have settled a Salary of Four hundred Pounds a Year upon Colonel Scott as Engineer General of all our Settlements in the East Indies and of St. Helena, to commence upon his Arrival in India, and to be paid from time to time at such of our Presidencys where he shall be resident.

37. We have likewise constituted and Appointed Caroline Frederick Scott Esq. to be Major of our Garrison of Fort William Commander of all the Forces employed in our Service at the Presidency of Bengal, and Third of Council, and to remain so without rising to a Superiour Rank therein, he is also to have

[1] Caroline Frederick Scott was appointed Cornet in the 2nd Royal N.B. Dragoons (Campbell's), December 25, 1726; Captain in the 6th Foot (Guize's), September 18, 1741; Major, September 30, 1746; Lieutenant-Colonel in the 29th Foot (Fuller's), January 5, 1749. Appointed Engineer-General of all the Company's settlements in the East Indies on October 11, 1752. On November 22 he was permitted to take with him two English male servants and a black boy (see Court Minutes). He came out to Bengal on the *Winchelsea*.

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the Command and Cloathing of one of the Companys agreably to the 22th Paragraph of the Military Regulations Dated the 17th June 1748 for all which Stations his Salary is to be Two hundred and Fifty Pounds a year with the usual Appointments for Diet, Servants and Pallankeen as Third of Council, to commence on his Arrival in Bengal, which Salary and Appointments are to be in lieu of all other Allowances whatsoever for the said several Stations of Major, Commander, Third of Council and Captain of a Company; Notwithstanding Colonel Scott is appointed Third in Council, he is not to be embarrassed with any other affairs than the Care of the Military, and the executing his Commission as Engineer General.

38. . . . You are to treat him [Colonel Scott] not only with the Respect suitable to his Rank in his Majestys Service and Station in ours, but also with what is due to his distinguished Merit and Abilities. . . .

45. We have granted a Commission to Jasper Leigh Jones Esq. a Gentleman regularly brought up in the Royal Train of Artillery, in which he was a Lieutenant and perfectly skilled in his Profession to be Captain of our Artillery Company in Bengal, on whose arrival it is to be formed agreable to the above mentioned New Establishment.

46. Mr. Lawrence Witherington is to be First Lieutenant of the said Company. . . .

243. Instructions to Colonel Scott.

Extracts from Letter from the Court to Scott. London, December 15, 1752. *Letter Book No.* 28.

To Caroline Frederick Scott, Esq.

1. We the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies having appointed You Caroline Frederick Scott Esq. by Commission under the Companys Seal Engineer General of and in our several Forts, Garrisons, Factorys and Settlements of Fort St. George on the Coast of Choromandel, Fort William in Bengal and our Island of Bombay in the East Indies their Subordinates and Dependancys, and of our Island of St. Helena, You are therefore to embark on

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the Ship *Winchelsea* now bound to Fort St. George and Fort William in order to execute your Commission, in doing which You are to observe and follow the undermentioned Orders and Instructions, and all such others as the Court of Directors for the time being shall at any time think necessary to give.

2. In your way out your stay upon the Coast of Choromandel will be but short, from whence You are to proceed to Fort William in Bengal, and although the securing this last named Settlement is our Primary Object in appointing You our Engineer General, yet as Opportunitys offer You are to visit all our Principal Settlements, and call at St. Helena in your return to Europe, and if in your Passage from one place to another you can without Loss of time call in at any of our Subordinate Settlements, You are permitted in that particular to be guided by your own Discretion.

3. At Fort William in Bengal and to whatever other Places You shall afterwards proceed, You are carefully to examine the Fortifications, and to take an exact Plan of the present Works, after which You are to Form a Scheme of such additions or reparations as shall on the Consideration of all Circumstances appear to you to be most expedient, Two Copys of this Plan and Scheme You are to send to Us by the two first Conveyances, together with the nearest Estimate You can form of the Expence, You are besides to transmit to Us at the same time such Descriptions and Explanations as may the better enable Us to judge both of the present Condition of the Place and of the Advantages of the Alterations proposed, and are to remark every Circumstance that may occur to you for facilitating the Execution of your Plan. And for the better directing of your Judgement in all these Matters, you are to have free access to all Books or Papers in the Custody of our Governours and Council, wherein Deliberations, Resolutions, Projects, Estimates or Accounts relating to our Fortifications are entered.

4. If during your stay in India any of our Places should be Threatned with an Attack, either from an European Enemy, or from the Troops of the Countrey, we in that case leave it to your discretion to repair to such of our Settlements, where either from the neighbourhood of the Enemy, or from other considerations

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you shall conceive your Advice and Assistance may be of most Advantage to our Interests, and on all these Emergencys, We shall direct our Governours and Council that they shall admit You to be present and to vote at all Consultations where any Military Proceedings are considered.

5. To avoid the unnecessary Expence which Confusion or Mismanagement may occasion in the Works you may carry on in consequence of these or on Our subsequent Instructions, You are empowered in all occasions to appoint Inspectors at each Working Place over each branch of Work, these are to have an Eye upon the Work, and are to take a daily Account of the Number of Workmen employed under them, and no Payments to Workmen shall be allowed to the Paymaster but corresponding to the Certificates of these Inspectors, examined and Countersigned by your Self, We further direct that You appoint two joint Inspectors to be present at the delivery of all Materials, and the Paymaster shall not pay for these Materials but on the Joint Certificates of these Inspectors examined and Countersigned by You, and of all these Certificates You are to keep Copys, by which You are to examine the Paymasters Accounts, which he is to deliver to You every Month, and if upon Examination, or for any other Reason, You are dissatisfied with his Conduct, You are to require the Governour to remove him from his office of paymaster, which Requisition of yours the Governour will be directed to comply with and if any person employed in the Works Whether our own Servant, or an Artificer of the Countrey does not behave to your Satisfaction, You are Authorized to remove him from his Employ in the Works, and if he be our Covenant Servant, You are to Certify to Us the Reasons for which You displaced him.

6. That the Works begun or projected by You may not be interrupted by any Casualty that may happen to You we direct You to draw your designs upon a large Scale, and to be very explicit in your Description of their different Parts, and if from the particularity of the Construction there are any Works intended where it may be supposed That Drawings are not alone sufficiently instructive, You are in that Case to cause large and durable Models to be made of them, which Models together with Copys of your Plan, and all the Descriptions, Directions and Estimates relating

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thereto, You are to deposit with Our Governour and Council of the Place where the Works are to be carried out.

7. You are carefully to Correspond with Us and to inform Us of the Progress You make and of the manner your different Employments are executed and of the Behaviour of those under your Direction. . . .

9. If it be consistent with the perfecting the Fortifications of the Coast of Choromandel, You may take Mr. Brohier who was left by the late Mr. Robins in charge of executing what he had designed on that Coast, or any of the young people who were under Mr. Robins as his Assistants with You to Bengal, their Names are Charles O'Hara, Sampson Morrice, Charles Knapton, Philip Glass, Achilles Preston and John Call.

10. We have firm dependance upon your executing this important Trust with Application and Fidelity, and that in the whole Progress thereof you will constantly have an Eye to such a prudent Frugality, that We may be put to no further Expences than are absolutely necessary.

244. Further Instructions to Colonel Scott.

Additional Letter to Colonel Scott, to be opened on his Arrival in Fort William, December 15, 1752.[1] *Letter Book No.* 28.

To Caroline Frederick Scott, Esq.

Sir,—Being determined to secure our Possessions in Bengal, We have thought it necessary to give you these separate Instructions, as the keeping our Designs Secret will be the best means of preventing any Troubles and Embarrassments in the carrying them into Execution, which may arise from the Countrey Government.

You are therefore upon your Arrival at Fort William, to con-

[1] The foregoing letter was delivered to Colonel Scott, December 16, 1752, under cover directed thus, viz.:

'To Caroline Frederick Scott, Esq., Engineer General of the United English East India Company's Settlements in the East Indies.

'Not to be opened until his arrival at Fort William in Bengal, and in case of Death to be returned to the Court of Directors of the said Company unopened.

'To be destroyed in case the *Winchelsea* is in Danger of being taken by an Enemy, but not till the last Extremity.'

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sider of a Plan for the Security of our Possessions in Bengal, and when after maturely weighing all Circumstances, You have formed your plan for the necessary Works, and have made an Estimate of the Time, Expense, Materials, and Workmen necessary to compleat it, and have determined with what part to begin and in what order to proceed, You are then to lay the whole before our President and Council at Fort William, and to require them to prepare the Money, Materials, and Workmen, and to issue the proper orders for Carrying on the Work, which Requisition of yours they will be directed to comply with.

In forming your Plan, you are to be very Secret, for although you may improve the Old Works if you find it convenient and necessary, yet We recommend it to you not to begin any New Ones until you are assured you shall meet with no obstruction from the Country Government in carrying them on.

245. The Council directed to co-operate with Colonel Scott.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, January 24, 1753. *Paragraphs* 49-51, 53, *and* 54. *Letter Book No.* 28.

49. In our letter of the 15th December You were fully informed of our Intentions in employing Colonel Scott, and of the Nature and Extent of his Office as Engineer General, We have now little more to add than that we expect and direct that you give him all possible Assistance to facilitate the carrying on such Works as shall be judged necessary for the Security of our Possessions and Estate.

50. You will observe by Colonel Scott's Instructions the Provisions made to prevent our being imposed upon in the delivery of Materials and the Employment of the Workmen to which you are to have a due regard, and We direct that Chunam, Timber and such other Articles as Colonel Scott shall acquaint You he has occasion for be purchased by You upon the best Terms from time to time in Council, and in general You are to co-operate with Colonel Scott in such a manner as that the Works he shall undertake may be perfected with as much Frugality as the Nature of them will admit of.

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51. As the Inhabitants in general will find the Advantage of such Works which may be erected for the better Security of the Place, it is but reasonable that they should bear part of the Burthen, at the time We sent out our late Engineer Mr. Robins, We recommended it to you to consider of and point out some Method whereby part of the Expence might be borne by the Inhabitants either by voluntary Contribution or easy Dutys but to this You never returned any Answer, We now direct that You take the same into your immediate Consideration, and give Us your Thoughts by the first Opportunity.

53. In our Letter last year, We empowered you with the Advice of Mr. Robins to erect convenient Barracks for the Military, You are now to proceed upon the same in such a manner as Colonel Scott shall advise you will best answer the purpose.

54. You must send Us an exact Account of what Guns and Mortars you have at your Presidency and of their several Weights, Natures, Dimensions and Conditions as well as of those Mounted, distinguishing the Batterys and Places where Mounted, as of those in your stores, likewise what Shott and Shells of all Denominations fit for Service are in Store.

246. Instructions to the Committee of Works.

Letter from the Court to our President of Fort William for the time being, our Chief of Cossimbuzar for the time being, and to Caroline Frederick Scott, Esq. London, January 24, 1753. *Letter Book No.* 28.

You will observe by the above Instructions,[1] That Colonel Scott is not to begin any New Works until he is assured he shall meet with no Obstruction from the Countrey Government, in order therefore to prevent any Obstruction, we hereby Order and Direct that our President of Fort William for the time being, the chief at Cossimbuzar for the time being with Colonel Scott be a Committee to consider of and agree upon proper Measures for obtaining leave of the Countrey Government (if that shall be found necessary) to begin and carry on the Works intended for the Defence of our Settlements at Fort William, and when such leave is obtained This Letter is to be laid before the President and Council, who

[1] The private instructions to Colonel Scott of December 15, 1752, are repeated.

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are to look upon it in the same light as if it was particularly directed to them, and are accordingly to afford Colonel Scott all the Assistance in their Power.

If you shall find any Money or Presents properly applyed, may facilitate your Application to the Country Government, We do empower you to make such Presents and to such Persons as you shall find necessary provided the whole amount does not exceed One hundred thousand Current Rupees (but if this Affair is conducted with Prudence We make no doubt that less than half will be sufficient) and provided you shall be fully satisfied of obtaining not only leave to Erect Fortifications, but also of procuring Grants of any Place or Places out of our own Districts it may be thought necessary to Fortify upon.

This whole affair is to be transacted with great Address, and the most inviolable Secrecy, and in particular it must not be known, that We have empowered You to make any Presents, a Discovery whereof would certainly make the Nabob and his Ministers exorbitant in their Demands.

247. A Town to be rented south of Johnnagar.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, January 29, 1753.

Mr. Holwell Jemindar lays a Proposal before the Board of Renting a Town called Balliah Danga[1] situate about a Mile to the Southward of John Nagore, which tho' at present produces only a Gain of about 50 Rupees per Annum, Yet he thinks from its Situation it may in time become Advantagious to the Company

Agreed that We Consider of it.

248. Barracks not built.

Extract from Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, February 11, 1753. *Paragraph* 52. *Bengal Letters received, Vol. II.*

52. Mr. Robins being dead we have deferred putting your Honours to any Expence in building Barracks for your Soldiers as You directed till Major General Lawrence's arrival with whom we will consult thereon and follow his opinion.

[1] Beliāḍāngā, or perhaps Belyāḍāngā.

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249. PROCEEDINGS IN JULY, 1753.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, July 16 *and* 23, *and July* 26, 1753.

July 16.—The Export Warehouse Keeper acquainting the Board that the Printing Houses[1] are in a very bad Condition and quite unfit for use at present.

AGREED Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted Surveyor be directed to take a survey of them and Report to the Board their Condition and an estimate of what he judges they would Cost to be put in repair. . . .

July 23.—Mr. John Zephaniah Holwell Zemindar delivers in a Letter relating to the measurement of the Honourable Companys Ground which being read

ORDERED a Copy thereof to be transmitted to the Honourable Company and that we take the contents into Consideration next Council day. . . .

July 26.—The Board now took into consideration Mr. Holwell's Letter delivered in last Council day, requiring our Orders touching the levying a duty of 5 per cent. on the sale of Europe Houses, the converting the Ground rent, called Cowrie mohull into Sicca's and raising the half rent to whole rent, The Houses belonging to Europeans and others in the white Town, sell, from ten to twelve thousand Rupees each House, bearing upper rooms, and the Repairs thereof, are usually so large, as to afford little advantage to the Proprietors; but as we would not be thought too much to favour ourselves we think proper to submit this proposition of Mr. Holwell's to the Honourable Company. . . .

The Buxey acquaints the board that some days ago he applied as has been customary to Mr. Thomas Coales, for Chunam to carry on the Companys Buildings when Mr. Thomas Coales acquainted him the Fine Chunam was all expended, but there was a quantity of Oyster shell Chunam a muster of which the Buxey sent to Mr. Plaisted whose opinion was that it is of so bad

[1] The plan of Calcutta by Wells in 1753 shows the calico printers' lying on the south side of the park, the modern Dalhousie Square east of Mr. Bellamy's, and west of Mr. Collet's and Colonel Scott's. Between the printing houses and those of Collet and Scott is a large tank (compare the report of the chints godowns in extract 257, Vol. II., p. 8).

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a Quality as not to be fit for any use, and there being an immediate want of fine Chunam to carry on the new buildings in the Fort a muster is now laid before the Board by the Buxey, who desires the direction of the Board, if he shall purchase it at the prices demanded for it which is 60 arcot Rupees per 100 maund

ORDER him to endeavour to lower the price if possible.

250. THE ARRIVAL OF COLONEL SCOTT IN BENGAL.

Extracts from Letters from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, September 3, Paragraph 69, and 17, Paragraph 5, 1753.

When Caroline Frederick Scott arrives We shall pay a proper Regard to your Honours Directions on that Head and beg leave to defer 'till his arrival giving our thoughts in regard to some Methods whereby part of the Expences Your Honours must be at in fortifying the Place may be borne by the Inhabitants.

Colonel Scott having been a little indisposed since his arrival has not yet been able to give his attendance at the Board, but as he is now recovered we shall take into Consideration your Honours Orders relating to the Fortifying of this Settlement and what method will be the most Eligible to ease your Honours in part of so heavy an Expence attendant thereon.

251. COLONEL SCOTT IN CALCUTTA.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, September 7 and 24, December 27, 1753, and January 4, 1754.

Colonel Scott arrives and takes his Seat.

September 7.—Colonel Scott being arrived in Town was now admitted to his Seat at the Board conformable to the Company's Instructions, and was then Acquainted that the charge of the Military and Train of Artillery was now under his care and management, and That as soon as he had made an Inspection of the situation of the Town, and Draughts of the Fortification he thought requisite, with the Estimates of the Expence, we should transmit it to our Honourable Masters upon his laying the same before us.

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Mr. O'Hara arrives, and is admitted to the Service.

September 24.—Mr. O'Hara one of the Assistants sent out with Engineer Robins, being arrived in the place with Colonel Scott and requesting to be entertained in the Honourable Companys Service on this Establishment, conformable to their Directions sent out with Mr. Robins

AGREED we admit [him] as a Writer in the service, and that he take his standing from the time of his Arrival in India And

Appointed him an Assistant in the Secretary's office.

Colonel Scott's Motion about the Buxerrys.

December 27.—Colonel Scott begs leave to take notice to the Board that there are a great number of Buxerrys in the Zemindary, which he is of opinion by the tenour of his commission should be put under his Command to be trained and exercised in a regular manner, that they may be serviceable in the defence of the Settlement, or on other Occasions if required to be sent upon Partys and Detachments, as he looks upon them to be a Military Establishment and ought to be comprehended in the clause of his Commission which styles him Major of this Garrison and Commander in Chief of all the Company's Forces at this Garrison.

Mr. Holwell[1] being asked what number of Buxerrys he thought necessary for the use of the Zemindary He replies We have in the whole about 195 Buxerrys in the Service of the Zemindary and that he has reduced the number of these Servants as much as the nature of the Post will admit of.

The Question was then put whether these Buxerries should be esteemed to be Comprized in the Clause of the Colonel's Commission. . . . The Majority are of opinion that the Buxerries at present employed in the Cutcherry should be under the Command of the Zemindar, but in case it may be thought expedient to Entertain a further number in future for the Security of the place, They should be under the direction of the Commander in Chief of the Garrison. . . .

[1] Holwell was at this time *zamīndār*, or collector, of Calcutta, and had been endeavouring to reform the office.

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Colonel Scott's Proposals for Gunpowder.

January 4, 1754.—Colonel Scott delivers in a Letter to the Board with proposals for Contracting with the Company for Gun Powder on the terms before mentioned

AGREED We accept of these terms, they being very reasonable.

252. ACCOUNT OF PROCEEDINGS IN 1753.

Extracts from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, January 4, 1754, *paragraphs* 121, 129, 140 *and* 141. *Bengal Letters received, Vol. II.*

121.—Mr. Holwell having finished His Measurement of the Ground delivered in a Letter the 23d July Concerning it, as your Honours will See entered after that days Consultation, which We took into Consideration the 26th of that Month, and as the Houses belonging to Europeans and others in the white Town sell from Ten to Twelve Thousand Rupees each House and the usual charges of them are so large as to afford but little Advantage to the Proprietors We agreed to Submit the Levying a Duty of 5 per Cent. on the Sale to your Honours, and shall only just Observe that We think it would be a Hardship upon the Proprietors of such Houses. In Relation to the Converting the Ground Rent called Cowries into Siccas, and raising the half Rent into whole Rent as he requests in the above Letter, We do not think proper to alter an Indulgence which has Subsisted from the Origin of the Settlement, for so trifling an Advantage. . . .

129. Colonel Scott has Acquainted us that he purposes sending your Honours a Plan of this Town[1] as well as what other Works may be Necessary for the defence of it in his Private Packet, We must therefore beg leave to refer your Honours thereto the Expence of which he cannot estimate at present. . . .

140. On the 27th ultimo Colonel Scott took notice to the Board that there were a Number of Buxerries in the Zemindary, which he was of Opinion by the Tenour of his Commission should be put under his Command, to be regularly Trained and made Serviceable for the defence of the Settlement as well as when required to

[1] This is doubtless the plan by Wells in 1753, preserved in the King's Library at the British Museum (K. 115, 42).

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be sent upon Partys or other Expedition, and as he looked upon them to be a military Establishment he thought they ought to be comprehended in that clause of his Commission which stiles him Major of this Garrison and Commander of all the Companys Forces employed at this presidency.

141. Your Honours will observe on the face of that days Consultation our several Opinions on that head, when the Majority voted that the Buxerries at present employed in the Cutcherry . . . should be under the Command of the Zemindar . . . but . . . upon an emergency . . . they should be under the Direction of the Commander in Chief of the Garrison.

END OF VOL. I.

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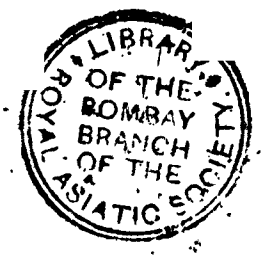

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